

# CURRENT HISTORY

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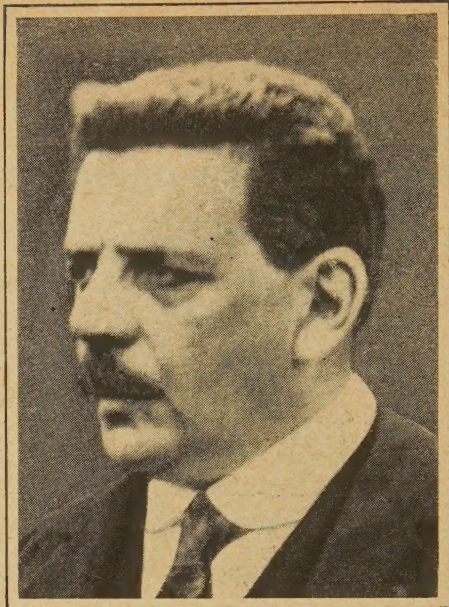
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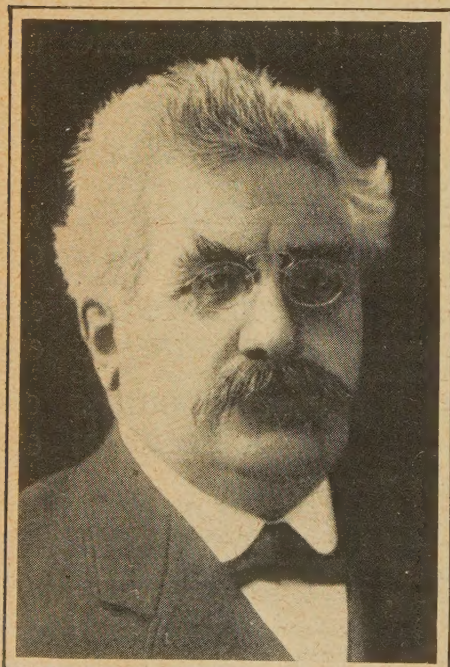
International

**GASTON DOUMERGUE**  
Elected President of the French Republic,  
June 13, 1924



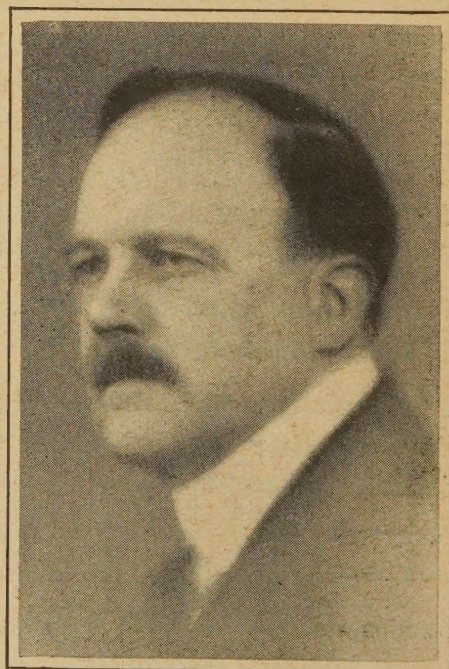
Keystone

**EDOUARD HERRIOT**  
Leader of the Left Bloc in the French  
Parliament, who, after refusing to form  
a Cabinet while Millerand remained Presi-  
dent, has now become Prime Minister and  
Minister of Foreign Affairs in the new  
French Government



Keystone

**ALEXANDRE MILLERAND**  
The French President who was forced by  
the Left Bloc to resign



Keystone

**FREDERIC FRANCOIS-MARSAL**  
French Premier during the few days be-  
fore Herriot formed a Cabinet



# Effect of the French Elections on European Peace

By JEAN LONGUET

Grandson of Karl Marx and a leading figure in the French Socialist movement in opposition to the Communists

THE American public, generally speaking, and more especially my colleagues of the American press, have probably not yet quite recovered from their surprise over the result of the French general elections, held on May 11. They were so sanguine about M. Poincaré's great hold on the French Nation, so certain that the electorate would maintain him in power, that I presume they could hardly believe their own eyes when the first news of the great progressive, Labor and Socialist victory reached the shores of America. I remember when, in my recent tour of the United States, I told my audiences (or the papers) everywhere of the certainty of a great victory for the anti-Nationalist bloc forces, I frequently met with sympathetic, but doubtful auditors, who believed that I was influenced in my anticipations by my political partisanship and my taking of desires for realities. Most of them were influenced by such news and comments as came from France and more directly by our Paris "great press," which depends entirely upon governmental and financial influences and pressure, and possesses no political principles of any kind.

But how could any Frenchman be surprised at the mistaken view of French opinion adopted by the press and public abroad, when even in France so few people understood the depth and strength of the great popular currents that were working underneath? Only a few weeks before the election, such a typical National Bloc representative as Pastor Soulié declared repeatedly to a big Paris paper that the verdict of the country would be for the preservation of the National Bloc "slightly reduced,"

that the Socialists would lose half their fifty seats and that the Communists would increase their twelve members to four or five times as many. Many influential politicians and journalists in the Paris press shared these views of M. Soulié.

Exactly the reverse has happened. And the same "great" Paris press which was singing every morning the praises of "that great Frenchman" M. Poincaré, have now consigned him to oblivion and are ready to give exactly the same praises to the "rising sun," the leader of the radical party, M. Herriot, whom they were so systematically boycotting a few months ago that some among them, as for instance M. Bunau-Varilla and M. Lauzanne, did not even publish his name in their paper, *Le Matin*! "That's life," as Aristide Briand would say.

Some very unreliable and dishonest statistics have recently been published by astute advocates of the defeated National Bloc, to demonstrate that its defeat was of much less extent than the world believes. One may torture figures in many ways, for they cannot defend themselves, but it is impossible to look closely at any genuine statistics without being strongly impressed by the immense move toward the Left that appears all over France, with the exception only of some rare districts of conservative Lower Normandy and Eastern Brittany. When we consider the number of votes cast in such cities as Marseilles, Lyons, St. Etienne, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Grenoble and Tours, when we compare them with the figures of the 1919 elections, it is impossible not to be impressed by the fact that the progressive elements won not only because they showed the united front of a



Left Bloc opposed to the National Bloc (whereas in 1919 they were divided between several opposed tickets), but also because their combined votes showed a tremendous increase at the expense of the "Bloc Nationaliste."

The victories of the "Bloc des Gauches" (Left Bloc), as such, with the Socialists frequently predominating in influence and numbers over the Radicals, were especially remarkable in the southeast, the south, the centre and the southwest of France.

In a certain number of other districts in the north, the east and the centre, where no coalition had been formed between Socialists and Radicals—such as Lille, Roubaix, Dunkirk and Valenciennes in the north district; the Sône and Loire Department (Lower Burgundy); the centre departments of Haute Vienne (Limoges district) and Allier; the Haute Garonne (Toulouse district)—the Socialists benefited most by the anti-Nationalist current. In the north they obtained 160,000 votes and 11 seats (while the Communists had 60,000 with 3 seats) out of 24 seats; in the Pas de Calais they obtained 90,000 votes and 6 seats out of 8; in the Haute Vienne 53,000 votes and 5 seats out of 5 (an absolute majority); in Sône and Loire 69,000 votes and 5 seats out of 8. (In the previous Chamber not a single Socialist had been returned in this department.)

The results in Paris and its suburbs (the immediate suburbs of the Seine or the more remote suburbs of Seine and Oise) present a different picture. The Moscow Communists, who so utterly failed in the rest of France (in such a purely industrial and proletarian town as Le Creusot, where the Socialists obtained 5,000 votes, the Communists got only 400), obtained some unquestionable successes in the metropolis and its surroundings. This is how the writer himself was defeated in the Seine suburbs, his ticket obtaining 95,000 votes, while that of the Communists received 105,000. The same is more or less true of that department of Seine Inférieure (Upper Normandy) in which the Paris influence is very strong and which is penetrated by Humanité (the daily

paper created by Jean Jaurès in 1904 as an organ of the United Socialist Party, but which was captured after the Tours split of 1920 by the Communists).

But though in this Paris district the Communists obtained certain successes, the indirect (and involuntary) consequence of their progress was by the splitting of the progressive vote to help powerfully the National Bloc, which was able, because of the Communists, to return a large part of its previous membership in Seine, Seine and Oise and Seine Inférieure, who would have been otherwise completely swept out in this district, as they were in most parts of the country. It can be said that at least forty-two Nationalists were returned solely by the help of Zinoviev's disciples! Altogether the Communist results spelled failure. Though Pastor Soulié, in his prognostics, gave them some 50 seats, they obtained only 26, and of their 12 previous members only 4 were re-elected. Of their 26 present members, 19 were elected in the Paris districts and only 7 for all the rest of France!

#### PARTY LINES IN NEW FRENCH CHAMBER

It is difficult to give accurate statistics of French Parliamentary parties because of the vague character of many of the groups or sub-groups formed in the French Chamber. These groups do not always correspond exactly to parties existing independently in the country. The Left Bloc includes in some constituencies relatively moderate elements. Some misleading statistics have been published in the French press under the influence of M. Poincaré's Administration and cabled abroad, classifying together elements *which had given up their previous conservative tendencies by joining the Left Bloc* (and accepting its minimum program against imperialism abroad and reaction at home), *with other moderate elements that had, on the contrary, joined the National Bloc lists*. This has caused, and still causes, great confusion.

According to a strict calculation, I think that I have reached a more accurate classification of the new Chamber, not according to old party names



that do not mean anything at the present time, but according to the real tendencies that these politicians represent. In the previous Chamber, it may be said, the National Bloc had over 420 members out of 620 members. This membership varied sometimes with the divisions in the Chamber, but such was the number of supporters M. Poincaré could depend upon on the most important votes. In the present Chamber the parties could be grouped in this way:

Conservatives (Royalists).....	15
National Bloc .....	184
Poincarist radicals .....	12
	—211
Centre (Briand's followers).....	48
	—259
Total.....	259
Radicals and others elected on lists under Herriot's leadership.....	188
Socialists:	
United Party .....	103
Socialist-Communists .....	6
	—109
Total.....	297
Moscow Communists .....	26

This means that even if the Briand group voted with the Right (which is not probable, especially when we consider that Briand himself is likely to enter the Herriot Cabinet), the Right could not marshal more than 259 votes against 297 for the Left, not including the 26 Communists, who will usually vote with the Left, but on whom no one can depend, as they will receive their orders from Moscow and act in consequence, according to purely Russian views and interests; with their votes the majority would be 320 strong.

#### NEW FOREIGN POLICY IMMINENT

Taking into account these figures, M. Poincaré could do nothing else but retire as he has done. I know that he declared, and that cables sent all over the world repeated, that whatever might be the coming changes in French domestic policy, the Government succeeding his would have to follow his foreign policy. I most positively object to this unbearable pretension of the "great Lorrainer," as servile flatterers have called him. His European policy was without doubt a greater failure than his domestic policy. He was unable to secure for France any concrete advantages, any real reparation, while he created complete chaos in Germany.

No man is more responsible for the deplorable development of German nationalism and militarism; no one has more helped the Ludendorffs and the Reventlows, the Tirpitzes and other extreme Pangermanists than this inhuman, blind and narrow lawyer, who never had the least knowledge of economic realities, while he absolutely lacks the European spirit, the international mind that is so much needed at the present time on this distracted continent.

Any Government coming into power now, even without the collaboration of the Internationalists of the Socialist Party, will be compelled to follow entirely different methods toward Germany and also toward our former allies, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and the United States. Any Government that would try again to enter on the path of the miserable jingoism that has characterized M. Poincaré's policy would have to face the unanimous, compact and bitter opposition of the 135 Socialists and Communists in the new Chamber.

As far as the Dawes report is concerned, though M. Poincaré accepted it, with his usual petty legal quibbles, the coming Administration will accept it without reservation or qualification. As Socialists and Internationalists, it is true, we do not believe that everything is good in the experts' proposals. These include taxes on the German workers three times heavier than those they paid before the war, while their wages are 50 per cent. lower. Of such suggestions the Communists, as well as the Nationalists, in Germany are making great capital. We strongly believe, however, that the Dawes report gives a solid basis for reaching at last a proper and final settlement and brings back at last a *feeling of confidence between the nations of Europe*, and this is why we have welcomed it with so much satisfaction.

The French Socialists were especially impressed by the fact that many of the practical suggestions of the Dawes report had been made two years previously in the conferences which they held with their comrades of the British, Belgian, Italian and German Socialist and



Labor Parties at Amsterdam and Frankfort. Since that time, however, the European financial situation has become much more serious and our own French situation much more complicated, if not inextricable, all because of M. Poincaré's blind nationalism and obstinacy. One of the fundamental ideas of the Dawes report is that the economic and political unity of the German Reich must be maintained and re-established. This is exactly the reverse of M. Poincaré's Rhineland and Ruhr policy, of all his vain efforts to build-up a separatist Rhineland or Palatinate State, a project which he was already favoring in February, 1917, at the time when the Germans were still at Noyon, sixty miles from Paris and when, as President of the Republic, he presided over a Cabinet meeting at which it was decided to send M. Doumergue to Leningrad (Petrograd) to obtain from the Czar, in exchange for the cession of Constantinople to Russia—an example of the right of self-determination of every people!—the severance of the left bank of the Rhine from Germany.

#### SOCIALISTS AGAINST "MINISTERIALISM"

The Internationalist point of view would be much more in evidence in the councils of the Government if the Socialists should enter the new Cabinet, which I doubt. This question of Socialist participation in a capitalist Government has been a sharp issue at all our national and international conventions, leading to much controversy, since the beginning of the present century. The question first arose in 1899 when Millerand, who was then a very moderate and purely parliamentarian Socialist, and with Jaurès, Viviani and Briand one of the four most prominent French Socialist leaders, entered the Waldeck-Rousseau Administration at the time of the Dreyfus affair, to save the republic from militarist and clerical reaction. After several years of bitter discussion and dissension the party, at the great International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam in 1904, declared against Socialists entering "bourgeois Cabinets."

Twenty years have passed since. The

war has come and with its close immense changes have occurred: Socialist and Labor parties have assumed power in Sweden with Branting, in Great Britain with Ramsay MacDonald, in Denmark with Stauning, not to speak of Russia. These parties have "participated" in the Government in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Belgium. Practically no one among French Socialists thinks, under such conditions, that an absolute non possumus can be opposed to "Ministerialism." It appears now essentially as a practical problem that has to be settled according to the concrete conditions of the present French political situation. In spite of the very active and clever campaign of the Ministerialist section, led by Paul Boncour, the brilliant orator and intellectual son of Waldeck-Rousseau, by Alexandre Varenne, the arch-opportunist of Auvergne, and by Marius Moutet, the fiery member for Lyons, the majority of the French Socialist Party decided at its special conference of June 1-2, against entering any Cabinet formed by M. Herriot, the bright and versatile radical Mayor of Lyons, whose political star at the time these lines were written was in the ascendant.

One argument advanced by Paul Boncour has certainly great weight. He constantly insists on the obvious fact that French radicalism lacks such daring, energetic, brilliant men as the Socialist Party possesses; men of the type of Léon Blum, who led so intelligently and courageously the campaign in the French Chamber against Poincaré's Ruhr adventure; men of the type of Paul Boncour, who, though a moderate, has something of the tradition of the great republicans of the French Revolution; men of the type of Vincent Auriol, a remarkable financial expert, who was the author of the excellent reparation plan accepted by the Amsterdam and Frankfort conferences; men of the calibre of Paul Faure, the eloquent General Secretary of the party, recently returned to the Chamber by the Saône and Loire Department; men of the type of Pierre Renaudel, the energetic and astute leader who was defeated in 1919 and has been just returned again by his



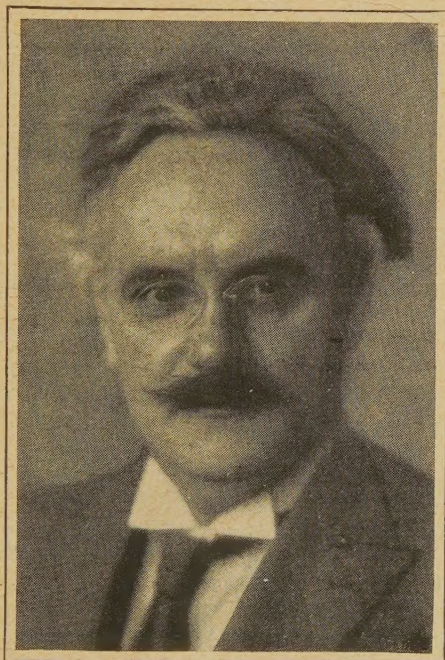
Department of the Var. This may be true, but nevertheless the opponents of Ministerialism believe that under present conditions it would be a dangerous experiment for the French Socialists to assume the responsibility of power in a Chamber where, however great their progress, they constitute only one-third of the majority (109 out of 297) and less than one-fifth of the 564 members of the entire House. What is even more serious, this Ministerial experiment would be made with a cruelly divided working class. The Communists failed in their attempt to win over the French proletariat, but for the reasons I have already given they succeeded to a certain degree in the Paris area. Altogether in the four departments of Paris they obtained 290,000 voters. Any participation of the Socialists would be the occasion of a formidable demagogic exploitation by the Communists of all the necessary limitations and weaknesses of such a Cabinet, where the Socialists would be necessarily in a minority.

These are some of the reasons why the French Socialists will probably allow the radicals to take power and will support them in any program of general European and domestic reconstruction. M. Herriot's domestic program is likely to include complete amnesty for all political and military prisoners, rehabilitation of the 25,000 railway workers dismissed after the defeat of the general strike of 1920, important reforms in taxation by the repeal of the "double décime" and the inauguration of a

much heavier income tax and inheritance tax, and also in the near future a levy on capital, a reform which M. Herriot already favors; other measures will include the abandonment, or, at least, an important modification of the present militarist policy and the reduction of the compulsory military service from eighteen months to nine months, so that our French youth shall not be handicapped in developing all their possibilities in life, when British, American

and even German young men are absolutely free to go out in the world and lay the foundation of their future. The evacuation of Syria, the most foolish of our imperialistic experiments, in which thousands of lives of French soldiers have been lost and billions of francs expended uselessly, while the previously sympathetic native population has been cruelly alienated by the brutalities of a military invasion of their country, must come immediately.

In the international field, especially so far as the



JEAN LONGUET

reconstruction of Europe is concerned, a similar reversal of all the mischievous methods and aims of M. Poincaré and his National Bloc, must be the program of the new democratic Government.

We do not expect the immediate execution of such a clear-cut policy from M. Herriot. We all, however, greeted with great joy the new spirit of international good-will and European solidarity so well expressed in the interview which he gave to the *Berlin Vorwärts*. We found in his words the fulfillment of President Wilson's great pledge to



German democracy — that republican Germany would be treated in an absolutely different spirit from that shown to the imperialistic and monarchistic Germany of the Hohenzollerns. Men of the type of Poincaré, Millerand and Clemenceau, on the contrary, seem to show even more severity and hostility toward a republican Germany than they would have shown to a monarchist one. To the constant humiliation of the German Republic are directly due the despondency of German republicans and the growing insolence and daring of the worst reactionaries.

As far as interallied debts are concerned, I believe that if France gives up a large part of her claims on Germany for the common good of Europe and of the world, it would be only natural and fair that, in their turn, Great Britain and America should renounce their claims on France. After all, these sums of money lent by Great Britain and the United States were spent by France, not for selfish aims, but for the common cause of all the Allies. Great Britain already understands this; I hope that America, with her noble, idealistic tradition, understands it also. From a purely materialistic and practical point of view, will not America, through her industry and agriculture, gain much more by trade with a reconstructed Europe than she would by receiving sums of money which she knows perfectly well France cannot repay?

How far will the coming liberal and progressive Government of M. Herriot be able to achieve its great program of national and international reforms? I personally believe that if it is daring enough, if it does not hesitate and does not shuffle, it will defeat all its enemies, and more especially those "centrist" opportunists who expect it to last only a short time; with a plucky policy it will find the unanimous and loyal support of the whole Socialist group and the enthusiastic support of the democratic masses.

It must settle, first of all, the Millerand problem. According to the French Constitution, the President of the republic has no right to take sides in party

politics. He is an arbitrator, like the English King, though with less prestige. He is not, like the American President, the Chief of Government. In such a highly centralized country as France, which does not have the local liberties enjoyed by the United States and which has inherited so many sinister monarchist and militarist traditions, to give a President the same powers that the Presidential occupant of the White House possesses would be extremely dangerous to our democratic institutions and to the republic itself. This, however, has been M. Millerand's purpose. He was not the "imperial observer" of the Constitution, but a real partisan, the leader of the National Bloc, which was launched in October, 1919, before he was elected to the Presidency, by his celebrated speech delivered at Ba-Ta-Clan Theatre. In his Evreux speech, less than a year ago, M. Millerand announced that he was going to modify the French Constitution in the direction of an increase of the political powers of the President. All this, as well as the domestic and foreign policy of the National Bloc, as the personal conceptions of M. Millerand, was condemned and definitely rejected by the French nation on May 11.

Under these conditions M. Millerand cannot remain at the head of the State. Nobody obliged him to enter the parliamentary electoral battle, with which, according to the true spirit of our Constitution, he had nothing to do. He should now bear the full responsibility for his policy. No radical and progressive Prime Minister will feel safe with such a President. At any rate, the French Socialist Party will not give its support to a Cabinet that would accept power under the unsafe patronage of M. Millerand, and this also will be one of the acid tests of the new progressive Administration. When this difficulty is settled and a better and safer President elected, the new Government will be able to go on with its full program.

[An account of the recent political events in France, including the resignation of President Millerand, will be found elsewhere in this issue.—Ed.]



# The Republican National Convention

(WITH TEXT OF PLATFORM)

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University; Chairman of the Board of  
CURRENT HISTORY Associates

FOR many months it has been evident that the Republicans would nominate President Coolidge. His sole active opponent, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, finally withdrew; and the only contest was that for the Vice Presidency. The Republican Convention met at Cleveland, Tuesday, June 10. The basis of representation was the same as in 1920, the vote of the Republican National Committee to read just so as to give less weight to Southern States which choose no Republican electors having been rescinded. President Coolidge, in common with millions of his fellow-countrymen, was able to listen to the proceedings through an elaborate system of radio.

The "Keynote Address" was made by the Temporary Chairman, Representative (formerly Senator) Theodore Burton of Ohio. It was understood to have the full approval of President Coolidge and to stress the policies which he desired. Hence the convention and the public were specially interested in the promise of support for invalid soldiers and their dependents; in the statement that Japanese immigrants are "uncongenial to our industrial life"; in the objection to "legislation for subventions from the Treasury" as a remedy for the farmers' troubles; in the favor shown to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway project; in the endorsement of the child labor Constitutional amendment; in the dislike of high surtaxes; in the criticism of lynching; in the approval of the Constitutional amendment changing the date for beginning Presidential terms; in the extension of the merit system so as to remove the President from the present pressure of appointment; in the con-

tinuance of anti-trust legislation; in the unqualified declaration for membership in the present World Court of International justice.

The speech presumably expressed the personal opinion of President Coolidge in its criticism of the appearance of blocs in Congress and of the movement toward third parties. With regard to the Congressional investigations, Mr. Burton admitted the great pressure on Congress for legislation that would be of monetary advantage to certain classes or persons; but he denied that there was any fundamental lack of honesty, and he protested against broadcasting "the mouthings of criminals and slanderers," adding "this is no reflection upon any investigator who in good faith is seeking to expose crime or any other dereliction among public servants. A guilty individual, whether he be high or low, Democrat or Republican, must suffer the severest punishment." He was very warmly applauded when he declared that "truth compels me to say that by far the greater part of our citizenship looks to President Coolidge rather than to Congress for leadership." The general temper of the convention throughout seemed unfriendly to the Republican members of the two Houses who have voted against the President's policies and overridden his vetoes.

A feature of the convention was the considerable number of women members, mostly alternates. Women also received enlarged representation and privileges on the National Committee. The convention chose ex-Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming to be Permanent Chairman, as had been arranged by the personal friends of the President.



On June 12 the platform was reported and adopted without alteration. The Wisconsin delegation presented Senator La Follette's substitute platform embodying his well-known views, which had no support in the convention outside that delegation. It was preceded by an informal parade of the delegates which lasted about fifteen minutes.

### THE PLATFORM

The platform is as follows:

We, the delegates of the Republican Party, in National Convention assembled, bow our heads in reverent memory of Warren G. Harding.

We nominated him four years ago to be our candidate; the people of the nation elected him their President. His human qualities gripped the affections of the American people. He was a public servant unswerving in his devotion to duty.

A staunch Republican, he was first of all a true patriot, who gave unstintingly of himself during a trying and critical period of our national life.

His conception and successful direction of the Limitation of Armament Conference in Washington was an achievement which advanced the world along the path toward peace.

As delegates of the Republican Party, we share in the national thanksgiving that in the great emergency created by the death of our great leader there stood forth fully equipped to be his successor one whom we had nominated as Vice President—Calvin Coolidge, who as Vice President and President by his every act has justified the faith and confidence which he has won from the nation.

He has put the public welfare above personal considerations. He has given to the people practical idealism in office. By his every act he has won without seeking the applause of the people of the country. The constantly accumulating evidence of his integrity, vision and single-minded devotion to the needs of the people of this nation strengthens and inspires our confident faith in his continued leadership.

**Situation in 1921**—When the Republican Administration took control of the Government in 1921 there were 4,500,000 unemployed; industry and commerce were stagnant; agriculture was prostrate; business was depressed; Government bonds were selling below their par value.

Peace was delayed; misunderstanding and friction characterized our relations abroad. There was a lack of faith in the administration of Government resulting in a growing feeling of distrust in the very principles upon which our institutions are founded.

Today industry and commerce are active; public and private credits are sound. We have taken the first step toward disarmament and strengthened our friendship with the world powers; our relations with the rest of the world are on a firmer basis; our position was never better understood; our foreign policy never more definite and consistent. The tasks to which we have put our hands are completed. Time has been too short for the correction of all the ills we received as a heritage from the last Democratic Administration, and the notable accomplishments under Republican rule warrant use in appealing to the country with entire confidence.

**Public Economy**—We demand, and the people of the country have a right to demand, rigid economy in government. A policy of

strict economy enforced by the Republican Administration since 1921 has made possible a reduction in taxation and has enabled the Government to reduce the public debt by two and a half billion dollars. This policy vigorously enforced has resulted in a progressive reduction of public expenditures until they are now two billions dollars per annum less than in 1921. The tax burdens of the people have been relieved to the extent of \$1,250,000,000 per annum. Government securities have been increased in value more than three billion dollars. Deficits have been converted into surpluses. The budget system has been firmly established and the number of Federal employes has been reduced more than one hundred thousand. We commend the firm insistence of President Coolidge upon rigid Government economy and pledge him our earnest support to this end.

**Finance and Taxation**—We believe that the achievement of the Republican Administration in reducing taxation by \$1,250,000,000 per annum; reducing of the public debt by \$2,432,000,000; installing a budget system; reducing the public expenditures from \$5,500,000,000 per annum to approximately \$3,400,000,000 per annum, thus reducing the ordinary expenditures of the Government to substantially a pre-war basis, and the complete restoration of public credit; the payment or refunding of \$7,500,000,000 of public obligations without disturbance of credit or industry—all during the short period of three years—presents a record unsurpassed in the history of public finance.

The assessment of taxes wisely and scientifically collected and the efficient and economical expenditure of the money received by the Government are essential to the prosperity of our nation. Carelessness in levying taxes inevitably breeds extravagance in expenditures. The wisest of taxation rests most rightly on the individual and economic life of the country. The public demand for a sound tax policy is insistent.

Progressive tax reduction should be accomplished through tax reform. It should not be confined to less than 4,000,000 of our citizens who pay direct taxes, but it is the right of the more than 100,000,000 who are daily paying their taxes through their living expenses. Congress has in the main confined its work to tax reduction. The matter of tax reform is still unsettled and is equally essential.

We pledge ourselves to the progressive reduction of taxes of all the people as rapidly as may be done with due regard for the essential expenditures of the Government administered with rigid economy, and to place our tax system on a sound, peace-time basis.

We endorse the plan of President Coolidge to call in November a national conference of Federal and State officials for the development of effective methods of lightening the tax burden of our citizens and adjusting questions of taxation as between National and State Governments.

We favor the creation by appropriate legislation of a non-partisan Federal commission to make a comprehensive study and report upon the tax systems of the State and Federal Governments with a view to an intelligent reformation of our systems of taxation to a more equitable basis, and a proper adjustment of the subjects of taxation as between the National and State Governments, with justice to the taxpayer and in conformity with these sound economic principles.

**Reorganization of Executive Departments**—We favor a comprehensive reorganization of the executive departments and bureaus along the line of the plan recently submitted by a joint committee of the Congress, which has the unqualified support of President Coolidge.

**Civil Service**—The improvement in the enforcement of the merit system both by legislative enactment and executive action since March 4, 1921, has been marked and effective.



# American Airmen First to Cross the Pacific

By ROBERT J. BROWN JR.

First Lieutenant, United States Army Air Service; Chairman World Flight Committee.

THE first air voyage ever made across the Pacific Ocean was completed on May 17, 1924, when three airplanes of the United States Army Air Service landed in Kashiwabara Bay, Paramushiru Island, in the Kurile Islands of Japan. This was but one stage in an attempt to circumnavigate the world by air, flying westward from the United States. Since the landing in Japan the airmen have continued their journey to Shanghai, so that already the story of the progress of the expedition furnishes one of the most interesting and thrilling chapters of contemporary history.

The official start of the world flight was made on March, 17 from Santa Monica, near Los Angeles, Cal., where the airplanes were manufactured. The flight was originally composed of four airplanes, all American in design and construction. They are biplanes of conventional type, capable of carrying a large amount of fuel, giving them long non-stop flying range; they are easily convertible into seaplanes by substituting pontoons, while wheels can be attached for overland flights; the fuselage construction is of welded and riveted steel tubing, which gives much greater strength and endurance than the usual stick and wire construction; these airplanes are powered with the 1924 model Liberty engine, weighing less than two pounds per horsepower and developing 420 horsepower at full throttle. The high speed of the land plane is about 105 miles an hour, the cruising speed about eighty-five miles, while as a seaplane it cruises at seventy-five miles an hour.

The personnel of the flight was se-

lected as follows, pilots being listed and assigned to airplanes in accordance with their lineal rank on the army promotion list:

AIRPLANE No. 1, THE SEATTLE—Major Frederick L. Martin, Pilot and Flight Commander; Staff Sergeant Alva L. Harvey, Mechanic. [This airplane was withdrawn from the expedition on April 30 when it crashed into a mountain.]

AIRPLANE No. 2, THE CHICAGO—First Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith, Pilot and Flight Adjutant; First Lieutenant Leslie P. Arnold, Mechanic and Alternate Pilot.

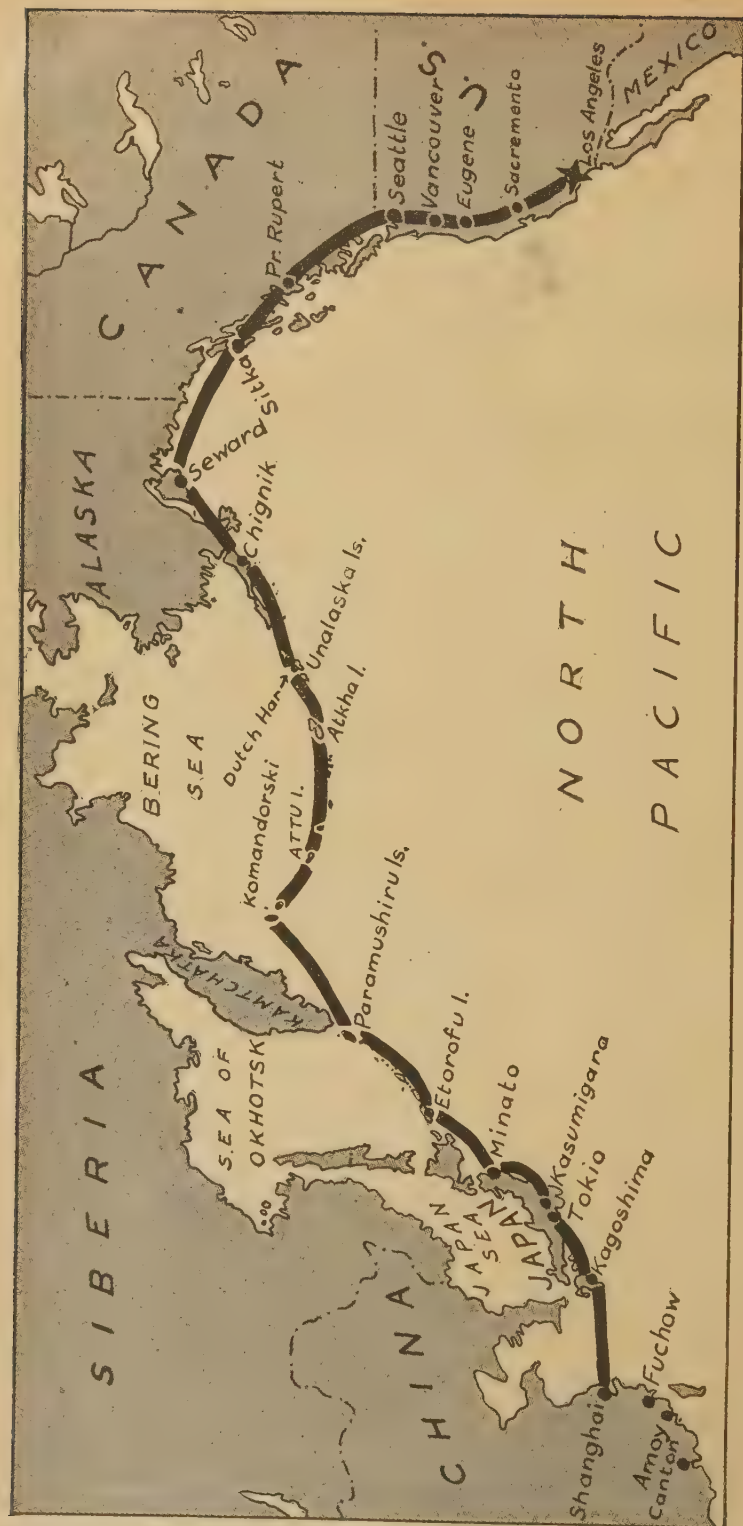
AIRPLANE No. 3, THE BOSTON—First Lieutenant Leigh Wade, Pilot and Supply Officer; Staff Sergeant Henry H. Ogden, Mechanic.

AIRPLANE No. 4, THE NEW ORLEANS—First Lieutenant Erik H. Nelson, Pilot and Flight Engineer Officer; Second Lieutenant John Harding Jr., O. R. C., Mechanic and Assistant Engineer.

The airmen arrived at Seattle on March 20, after several flights totaling 14 hours 18 minutes from Santa Monica, Cal., having stopped at Sacramento, Cal.; Eugene, Ore., and Vancouver Barracks, Wash. The longest flight of the whole route to Japan was made by Airplane No. 4, which had been delayed at Santa Monica for minor adjustments. Lieutenant Nelson, piloting this airplane, made a non-stop flight of 9 hours 25 minutes for a distance of nearly 800 miles to Eugene, Ore., and arrived at Seattle only a few hours after the other members of the flight. Sixteen days were spent at Seattle, where the airplanes were christened, a new engine installed in the Boston and each airplane equipped with pontoons for the long Pacific air voyage.

The chronicle of this epoch-making flight north, following the rugged Alaskan coast line and west along the Aleutian Islands and across the Pacific Ocean, though it reads like a piece of fiction, records experiences and hard-

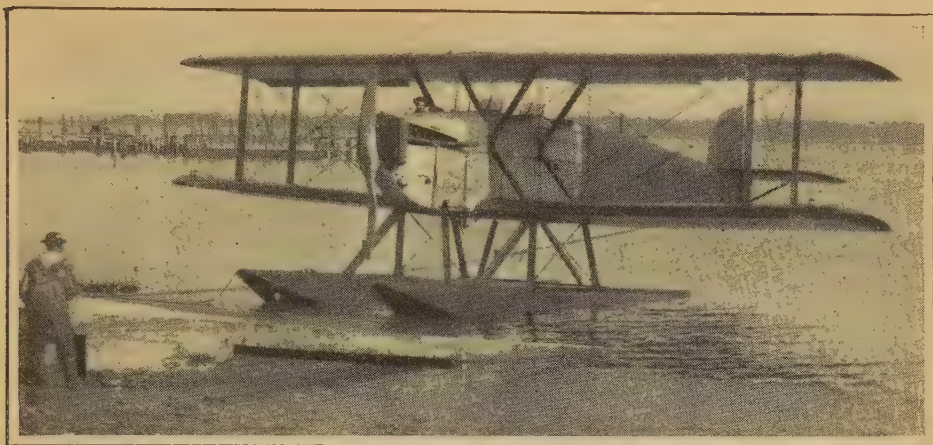




### ROUTE OF FIRST STAGES OF WORLD FLIGHT BY AMERICAN AIRMEN

This map shows the points on and between the Continents of North America and Asia by which the epoch-making journey by air has been made by the expedition originally under the command of Major Martin and subsequently of Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith. The latest reports announce the further progress of the airmen from Shanghai to Amoy and thence to Hongkong.



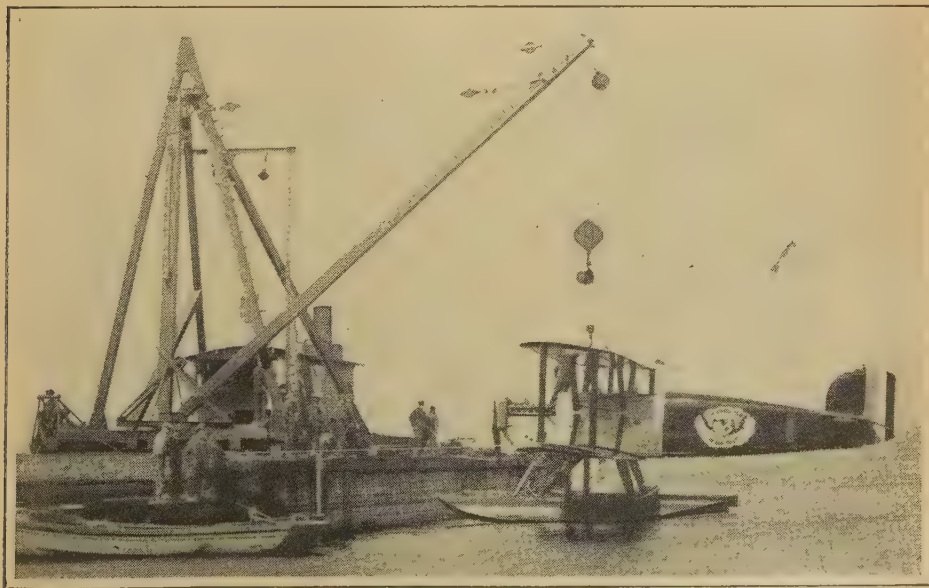


United States Air Service photo

One of the world cruisers on ways, showing the method of mooring

ships never before endured by aviators. Each leg of the trip was accomplished in fog, snow, rain, sleet or high winds. The weather encountered was reported as unparalleled in the United States. Leaving Seattle on April 6, the flight flew through rain and snow squalls for over 600 miles. They were forced down to within 100 feet of the water, and at a speed of seventy miles an hour fol-

lowed the hazy shore line, dimly seen through the driving storms, until they finally reached Prince Rupert, where they landed in a snowstorm. Blinded by the storm, the flagplane Seattle narrowly avoided crashing into the buildings on shore. Major Martin stalled his airplane to check his forward speed and made a "pancake" landing. The airplane struck the water with such



United States Air Service photo

The Seattle being lowered into the water at Seattle, Wash., after pontoons had been added





P. & A. Photo.

*The United States army airmen selected for the world flight engaged in studying the problems before departure: (From left to right) Lieutenant Eric Nelson, Lieutenant Leigh Wade, Lieutenant Le Claire Schulze, Major Fred Martin, Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith and Lieutenant Leslie Arnold*



force that the two outer right wing struts broke in two and the four vertical brace wires snapped. Spare parts on board the planes and two new struts made in the machine shops of the Canadian drydock enabled the necessary repairs to be made in two days. Stormy weather delayed the flight until April 10. On this date they reached Sitka, Alaska, after flying through low clouds and rain for four hours. The weather was clear and calm when they landed at Sitka.

At Sitka, disaster nearly overtook the expedition when Airplane No. 3 dragged its anchor and Airplane No. 4 slipped its shackle and broke loose from its moorings during a windstorm, and would have been wrecked in the breakers had not Lieutenant Harding been aboard and started the engine, holding the machine into the wind under its own power until it could be secured. All airplanes had to be double anchored on the night of April 12. Fair weather permitted departure on the following day for Cordova, the next scheduled stop, 450 miles away. The ships were flying in formation, with Lieutenant Wade in the lead on this leg, and severe snow squalls were encountered soon after leaving Sitka. The poor visibility forced them to fly low and

close to the shore line. Proceeding in this manner so as to keep each other in sight. Lieutenant Wade, leading the flight on this leg, had to turn suddenly to avoid striking the rugged shore line head on. This action caused the other planes to swerve, and only by excellent airmanship was a collision averted. Cordova was reached in good weather and passed. The flight landed in Resurrection Bay, at Seward, Alaska, that evening. They were again delayed by unfavorable weather, but the four planes left for Chignik, 450 miles away, on the morning of April 15.

After 300 miles of this distance had been covered, Major Martin was forced to land near Cape Igvak on Portage Bay, when his oil pressure suddenly dropped to zero, due to a loss of oil through a hole in the crank case, caused by a broken connecting rod. The other three airplanes reached Chignik an hour later. Major Martin and his mechanic never rejoined the flight. On the morning of April 16 they were found and towed to Kanatak, a small town at the head of Portage Bay, by the United States destroyer Hull, which had rushed to their rescue from Seward, as soon as the news of their forced landing had been broadcast by the other members of the flight from Chignik. Fortunately,



United States Air Service photo

The world cruisers Chicago, Boston and New Orleans at anchor in Seal Cove, Prince Rupert, B. C.





United States Air Service photo

Four Army Air Service world cruisers ready for the start at Santa Monica, Cal.



United States Air Service photo

World cruisers in formation flight over the snow-capped mountains surrounding Resurrection Bay, Seward, Alaska



United States Air Service photo

World flight airplanes at anchor in Resurrection Bay, Seward, Alaska





United States Air Service photo

Sitka, Alaska. The world flight airplanes were moored at the anchorage at right of the photograph

April 15 and 16 were the only good days in that vicinity in eight months. Kanatak is a storm centre of the Alaskan Peninsula. Major Martin sent the following message to the Chief of Air Service, reporting his forced landing:

Pearl Creek, Dome, Alaska, NAP 18, 1924.

Govt. Chief Air Service, Washington, D. C.

Forced down 2:40 P. M., April 15, hole in crankcase, taxied near shore, anchored, spent night in ship, moonlight, calm, cold. Destroyers arrived 5:30 A. M. Hull came into bay, was leaving at 9 A. M., when sighted us. Had used all signal ammunition, starter broken, helpless if anchor dragged,

struck two best days here in eight months. Express appreciation destroyers, which made 312 miles, starting 7:45. Mr. Reed, Standard Oil, Pearl Creek, rode eighteen miles in deep snow to aid search, steamer Starr speeding to location also. Wonderful weather our salvation. Getting motor Dutch Harbor.

MARTIN.

A new engine was rushed to Kanatak by the United States Coast Guard cutter Algonquin of the Bering Sea Patrol, from Dutch Harbor, Alaska, 500 miles to the west, where supplies had been concentrated to refit the airplanes. The



United States Air Service photo

The Steamship Northwestern, which carried world flight supplies to Alaska





United States Air Service photo

Unga, Alaska, selected as an emergency harbor for the world flight



United States Air Service photo

Mount Resurrection, overlooking Resurrection Bay, Seward, Alaska, a prominent landmark that guided the airmen to their anchorage in the bay



engine was received on April 19, but high winds, williwaws, snowstorms and below-zero temperature, hampered the work of installing it in the airplane. In the meantime, the other fliers were held up at Chignik by snowstorms until April 19, when they fought their way to Dutch Harbor for over seven hours against strong head winds, and the next

and 25 degrees Fahrenheit, as the winds made 180-degree shifts. Williwaws were prevalent and snow and sleet storms vied with one another. During one day over 400 pounds of ice formed on the Seattle.

Major Martin on April 30 attempted to rejoin his command at Dutch Harbor. The weather was not propitious for fly-



United States Air Service photo

Kanatak, on Portage Bay, Alaska, where Major Martin was forced down on April 15. The Seattle had to remain here until a new engine was brought from Dutch Harbor, 500 miles south. Kanatak, one of the storm centres of Alaska, is known as the "Caldron of Winds."

day started overhauling their battered cruisers. The flagplane Seattle reached Chignik on April 25, and the following wire was received from Major Martin:

Chief Air Service, Washington, from Chignik, Alaska, April 25, 1924.

Left Kanatak, the Caldron of Winds, at 1:15; flew in snowstorm entire distance with strong head winds, landed Kumluk Bay 4:45 to get bearings and wait lull in storm, left 5:15, arriving Chignik 5:50, followed coast line to keep going, terrible trip. Arose Kanatak 3 P. M., calm, but tide rose sufficiently to get ship from creek, constructed drag, pulled ship to bay by standing cat tractor, sea very rough from southeast wind at 1 and snowing, afraid to remain Kanatak. Remain Chignik two days to check engine and plant, most thankful to survive ordeal of Kanatak.

MARTIN.

For the next few days it was impossible to leave Chignik. During this time, unprecedented weather occurred in the Alaskan Peninsula and the North Pacific was lashed by furious gales. The temperature ranged between 60 degrees

ing, but he knew that the other members of the expedition were ready to proceed. During a lull in the storm, but in a high wind, he departed from Chignik at 11:10 A. M. in a heroic endeavor to reach Dutch Harbor, 400 miles away. Hours passed and no word had been received. The following day brought calm weather, but no news of the whereabouts of Major Martin or of his companion. Two United States Coast Guard cutters and numerous fishing vessels arriving in Alaskan waters to open the fishing season, searched the southern shore of the Alaskan Peninsula. Day and night the search continued. At night searchlight beams swept the inlets and bays and pierced the darkness around innumerable small islands along the coast. It was feared that the Seattle had been blown out to sea by the





United States Air Service photo

The world cruisers Chicago and New Orleans on skids at Dutch Harbor, Alaska. They were blown into the harbor during a storm in April, but were rescued undamaged with the assistance of the United States Coast Guard cutter Haida

terrific gale from the northwest. A white trapper reported that he had seen an airplane flying northwest over Chignik Lagoon a short time after Major Martin left Chignik. The search was directed inland on the theory that the airplane had been forced down in the desolate interior while flying across the peninsula, hoping to find better weather on the other side. The search was continued on the Bering seacoast, but was hindered by ice jams along the shore.

Seven days passed. The North American Newspaper Alliance offered \$1,000 reward to the person or persons who should find Major Martin or Sergeant Harvey or the airplane Seattle, or who should give news of their whereabouts, dead or alive. The news of this offer was broadcast to all vessels in Alaskan waters, all fishing canneries and to all trading posts in Southwestern Alaska. The search was pushed with renewed vigor. The south coast was combed. Dogsled parties trekked inland. The Chief of Air Service ordered an airplane and a pilot from the United States to Chignik to fly inland and search the barren, snow-covered wastes of the interior. It was known that all

members of the expedition carried emergency rations and hopes were entertained, after nine days' fruitless search, that the lost aviators would still be found alive.

At last, on March 10, a cryptic message was received from Major Martin himself. It came from Port Moller on the northern side of the peninsula, and stated that while trying to cross the Alaskan Peninsula, he had struck a mountain in a fog, about an hour after leaving Chignik. Neither of the occupants of the airplane was injured, but the Seattle was wrecked beyond repair. Existing on concentrated food rations and nerve for seven days, they worked their way westward, following a stream and wading through snow several feet deep. On the seventh day in an exhausted condition, they reached an unoccupied trapper's cabin and found food and rest. Two days later, by following the beach, they arrived at Port Moller, and were able to communicate their safety to the outside world.

The other airmen had been directed to proceed, with Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith now in command, and on May 3 they arrived at Atka Island after an ar-



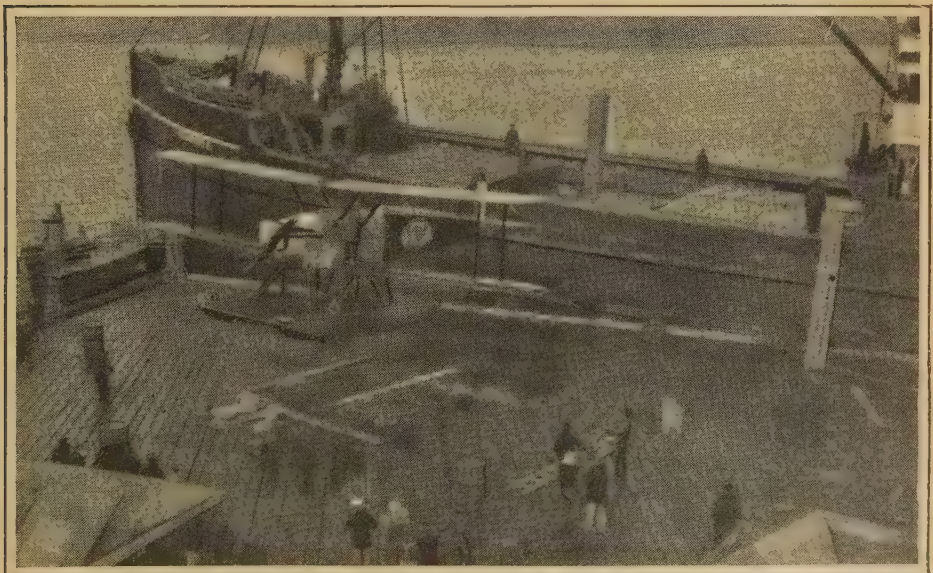


United States Air Service photo

The world cruiser Boston at anchor in Dutch Harbor, Alaska.

duous flight of over four hours against headwinds. Major William Blair of the United States Signal Corps, on board the Bureau of Fisheries vessel Eider, preceded the flight to radio back meteorological reports and weather forecasts. This vessel proceeded on to Attu Island, as soon as the flight arrived at Atka, and the United States Coast Guard cutter Haida, withdrawn from the search for Major Martin, left Dutch Harbor with supplies and fuel to convoy the flight westward, with First Lieutenant Clayton L. Bissell of the Army Air Service on board. This officer had previously traveled over the whole route from Seattle to Attu Island to distribute supplies and complete all ground arrangements in the first division of the flight comprising the route from the United States to Japan.

While at Atka Island, uninhabited at this season of the year, the members of the flight cooked their own meals and



United States Air Service photo

The Boston being repaired on the dock at Dutch Harbor





United States Air Service photo

The world cruiser New Orleans at Dutch Harbor, Alaska

lived in a small fishing shack. After the *Haida* arrived several days of bad weather again delayed their departure. On May 9, the 530 miles between Atka and Chicagoff Harbor on Attu Island, were negotiated in 8 hours 50 minutes flying time against strong winds. At Attu Island the airplanes were given a thorough inspection and placed in the best of condition for the long flight of 860 miles to Japan. Three more stops and the airmen would reach Japan proper, where much better weather prevailed. Knowing this, the members of the flight exhibited great patience and excellent judgment in delaying their departure from Attu until favorable weather existed. For several days high gales prevailed. On May 14 a 60-mile wind with snow and rain forced the *Haida* to seek safety at sea, to avoid being blown ashore.

In the meantime, the United States destroyer John D. Ford was awaiting the flight in Kashiwabara Bay, Paramushiru Island, in the Kurile Islands of Japan, with fuel and supplies. The United States destroyer Pope was at the next stop in Hitokappu Bay, Yotorofu Island. 500 miles south of Paramushiru. A Japanese destroyer accompanied each American vessel to act as official host to the airmen. Radio communication was established between the *Eider*, which sailed westward from Attu, and the vessels in the Kurile Islands, so that

a radio chain existed across the Pacific Ocean to report the progress of the flight.

On Thursday, May 15, 1924, the three airplanes of the world flight left Attu Island, the last possession of the United States, on the last leg of the air journey across the Pacific Ocean. They headed northwest for Cape Kronatski on the Kamchatka Peninsula so that they could check their course on the Komandorski Islands and be within sight of land the greater part of their journey in case of forced landing, intending to fly south from that point along the coast of Kamchatka to Paramushiru. The following message was received from Lieutenant Smith after the successful completion of the flight over the Pacific:

Dutch Harbor, Alaska, CK 92

Rush 18 May 1924.

Government Chief Air Service Washington, D. C.

Following from U. S. S. Ford: "Left Attu yesterday at 11 A. M. Storm over Pacific forced us to land off shore at Komandorski at 4:30 P. M. Did not go ashore. Left there at 8 A. M., landed here at 2:35 P. M. one hundred eighty meridian time. Flight over fog 25 per cent. of time, snow 10 per cent. and excellent weather the rest. Planes and personnel O. K. Severe storm upon landing. Leave next good weather. SMITH."

This message caused considerable confusion because of the change in time between Attu and Paramushiru. Ordinarily, as one goes west there is a gain of an hour for every 15 degrees of longitude traveled; there are fifteen degrees of longitude between Attu Island



and Paramushiru Island. When one crosses the 180th meridian, going westward, a day is immediately lost, as this is the International Time Change Line, between the Western and Eastern Hemispheres. Attu is actually west of this meridian, but the Time Change Line bulges out so as to include Attu Island in the same time system as the other islands of the Aleutian group. When the airmen took off from the water at Attu Island on Thursday morning, May 15, they immediately lost a day and it was Friday morning, May 16; but they regained one hour when they crossed 15 degrees longitude and arrived in Japan. After flying for five and a half hours, they were forced down by a snowstorm at 4:30 in the afternoon of the same day near the Komandorski Islands, where they had to remain until the following morning. During the night the Eider overtook the flight and refueled the airplanes. At 8 A. M. next day, May 17 (May 16 at Attu), the flight left, headed west toward Cape Kronatski, and carrying out the original plan, flew down the coast of Kamchatka and arrived at Kashiwabara Bay, Paramushiru Island,

at 2:35 P. M. on the same day, after flying for 6 hours 35 minutes. The total flying time across the Pacific Ocean from Attu Island to Japan was, therefore, 12 hours 5 minutes.

The distance traversed by the flight from the United States to Japan is 4,150 miles. The official flying time for the crossing of the Pacific Ocean by air was 59 hours 2 minutes. An average speed of 70 miles an hour was maintained during the flight.

The American fliers were cordially welcomed by Japanese officials and the Japanese Minister of War sent a message to the Secretary of War of the United States congratulating him upon the successful accomplishment of an airplane flight across the Pacific Ocean for the first time in history by three airplanes of the United States Army Air Service.

Heavy winds, snow, fog and general bad weather delayed the airmen in Kashiwabara Bay for three days. Then, after leaving Paramushiru and flying more than seven hours with very poor visibility and over fog a great part of the distance, they arrived at Hitokappu



United States Air Service photo

First Lieutenant Clayton L. Bissell, advance officer, First Division, World Flight route, United States to Japan (at extreme right of photograph), with officers of the Steamship Brookdale at Dutch Harbor, Alaska



Bay, on the southeastern shore of Yeto-rofu Island. The advance officer who had investigated and prepared the route through Japan had intended to have the flight land at Bettobu, on the northwestern side of the island, but when the U. S. S. Pope arrived in these waters late in April with supplies and fuel for the flight, it found all the passages between the islands of the Kurile Group blocked with ice, in some cases the ice floes extending fifty miles into the Pacific. As soon as it was informed of these conditions the Japanese Government granted authority for the flight to land in Hitokappu Bay.

Continued bad weather as well as unfavorable meteorological reports from Japan proper did not permit the airplanes to take to the air again until May 22. This day they put in 9 hours 30 minutes flying time, more time in the air than on any one day since the start of the expedition. They left Hitokappu at 5:33 A. M. and landed at Minato, on the northeast coast of Honshu, in 5 hours 10 minutes after flying over and under fog the greater part of the time. A short circuit in the battery of

Lieutenant Smith's airplane caused the flight to stay at Minato until 1:15 P. M. Here, the first point of contact with civilization since leaving Dutch Harbor, Alaska, the airmen were greeted with great enthusiasm by the Japanese townspeople. The school children of the township, in anticipation of seeing the Americans and incidentally of viewing an airplane in that part of the world for the first time, had learned several American patriotic songs and sang them from the hillsides surrounding the anchorage while the airmen were refueling their planes. On the afternoon of the same day, after 4 hours 20 minutes flying, the expedition arrived at Kasumiga Ura Naval Air Station, fifty miles north of Tokio, the nearest seaplane base to the Japanese capital.

The airmen received a most cordial welcome and every facility at the station was placed at their disposal. Several new Liberty engines, complete new sets of pontoons, as well as some new wings and many essential small spare parts and supplies had been shipped to this point from the United States so that the airplanes could be completely over-

hauled after their exposure to the weather while crossing the Pacific Ocean. New engines were installed, new pontoons attached and the airplanes reconditioned throughout. This work required a week's labor. The flight personnel also spent two days in Tokio making the usual courtesy calls and attending several fêtes and banquets given in their honor by high officials of the Japanese Government. The arrival of the American airmen at Tokio marked the linking of the Japanese capital and the United States by air for the first time in history, and was also significant as it completed the circumnavigation of the air, all other sections



United States Air Service photo

The Seattle, after new struts had been installed, being lowered into the water at Prince Rupert, B. C.





Major Martin and Sergeant Harvey, photographed at Port Moller, Alaska, just after they reached civilization from the desolate interior, where they had a narrow escape from death.

except this one having been flown previously by aviators of various countries. On arrival at Tokio 6,495 miles had been covered in 90 hours' flying from Santa Monica, Cal.; 5,530 miles and 75 hours 43 minutes of this time were required for that part of the flight between Seattle, the point of departure from the United States, and Tokio. The airplanes continued to maintain an average speed of about seventy miles an hour.

Departing from Kasumigaura on June 2, the airmen intended to land at Kushimoto, Japan, 360 miles south, to refuel, and then continue on to Kagoshima, the last stop in Japan, 380 miles

further south, the same day. A heavy rainstorm near Kushimoto forced them to land and remain overnight. The following day they proceeded to Kagoshima without incident and spent the next day giving their airplanes a very careful inspection, in order to fit them for the long flight of 610 miles to Shanghai, China, the longest distance over open water in the entire route thus far flown. To form a radio chain and to be ready for rescue purposes, if needed, the destroyers of the Thirty-sixth Division of the United States Asiatic Fleet were deployed along the line of flight. Owing to pontoon trouble Lieutenant Smith was unable to start, but he made the flight successfully on the morning of June 5 and rejoined Lieutenants Wade and Nelson, who had arrived on the previous day after a flight of over seven hours. The weather was excellent, quite in contrast to expectations and to conditions existing during all previous stages of the flight.

Instead of arriving in a strange land among a foreign people, the American airmen landed near the docks of the Standard Oil Company at Shanghai and found all arrangements for their reception complete in every detail. They were met by the United States Consul and a United States Shipping Board representative and greeted by many American and Chinese friends and officials from the colonies in the city. The arrival of the airmen here marked their entry into the third division of the world flight and linked the North American Continent with Asia via airway for the first time. This epoch-making flight between two great continents covered a



United States Air Service photo

Steel drums filled with gasoline for the world flight airplanes at Dutch Harbor, Alaska

distance of 6,880 miles in 94 hours 19 minutes' flying time.

The three airmen left Shanghai for Amoy the morning of June 7 on the first stage of the third division of the flight—across Chekiang and most of Fukien, two of the great Provinces of China. Favored by good weather, the airmen reached Amoy on the same day, at 4:30 P. M. Leaving Amoy next morning (June 8) at 9:15 A. M., the three airplanes arrived at Hongkong at 12:30 P. M. The next leg of the journey as planned was a distance of 500 miles to Haiphong, in French Indo-China.

In the meantime Major Martin, who had been ordered back to Washington, where the War Department was preparing to send him to Europe with a new airplane to rejoin his command, recommended, in a true spirit of sportsmanship, that the other members of the expedition, who had already accomplished the most hazardous portion of the route, be allowed to continue without him. The acceptance of this recommendation by the Secretary of War placed Lieutenant Smith in command of the flight.





# How Woodrow Wilson Won His Nomination

By FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

Writer and editor of varied experience, who in 1911 conducted the publicity campaign for the nomination of Woodrow Wilson as Democratic candidate for President

SIXTEEN months before the Democratic Convention of 1912 met in Baltimore and nominated Woodrow Wilson as the party's candidate for President of the United States, a little group of friends persuaded him to let them undertake a campaign of publicity, having for its object the creation of such a strong public opinion in favor of his candidacy that the pressure could not be resisted by the party leaders. The three original members of this group were Dr. Walter Hines Page, then editor of *The World's Work* and later Ambassador to Great Britain; Mr. Walter L. McCorkle, a Virginian who was then, as now, a practicing lawyer in New York City, and Mr. William F. McCombs, a young lawyer from Arkansas who had been one of Mr. Wilson's students at Princeton and was active in the Tammany organization of his home district in New York.

Hundreds of others had talked of Governor Wilson of New Jersey for President. Colonel George Harvey had been talking of Professor Wilson of Princeton as "Presidential timber" for seven or eight years, and had been the chief factor in obtaining his nomination for Governor of New Jersey by the machine-controlled Democratic State Convention of 1910. Governor Wilson's repudiation of the party machine, his determined and successful stand against the election of the State boss, James Smith Jr., to the United States Senate, and the resulting alienation of Colonel Harvey's interest put an end to the latter's activities in Mr. Wilson's behalf. After giving Colonel Harvey due credit for launching Mr. Wilson upon the sea of practical politics, the

fact remains that nobody else did anything to bring about Mr. Wilson's nomination for President until the three men referred to took the situation into their hands in early March, 1911. They raised a small amount of money among themselves and on Dr. Page's invitation I undertook to initiate the publicity campaign. Who, if any, besides Messrs. Page, McCorkle and McCombs, contributed to that initial fund of \$3,000 I never knew.

The experiment was a novel and audacious one in American politics. It was a repetition on a national scale of Mr. Wilson's experiment in New Jersey, where he had gone over the heads of the politicians and appealed directly to the voters, first in the matter of the selection of Jim Martine for Senator, then later in the equally successful attempt to put the pressure of public opinion upon the members of the Legislature for the enactment of the Governor's program. On my first meeting with Governor Wilson he told me in detail of the method he had pursued, of going into the home districts of recalcitrant members and stating his position squarely to the voters, who thereupon saw to it that their representatives at Trenton did what the Governor wanted. "The people of the United States are just like the people of New Jersey," Mr. Wilson said. "If they believe in an issue, once it is stated to them in terms they understand, they will force their leaders to adopt it."

This was not merely an expression of Mr. Wilson's fundamental democracy, which runs through all his writings and public utterances from his first book, "Congressional Government," to the last

words he addressed to an audience. He was impatient always of the restrictions upon the free expression of the popular voice inherent in our system of government, which was planned to be representative and only remotely, if at all, democratic. His words on this occasion, however, foreshadowed, if his hearer had been prophetic enough to grasp their full import, not only his entire course as President of the United States, but the precise method whereby he undertook to put the pressure of the public opinion of all Europe behind the leaders of the nations in the settlement of the peace terms at Versailles. His appeal to the peoples of Europe, over the heads of their leaders, was only an enlargement of the method which had proved successful in New Jersey and which was to prove successful in bringing about his nomination for the Presidency. Once that is clear there is no mystery or room for controversy about the reasons for Mr. Wilson's personal participation in the peace conference. That he went to Paris merely to gratify a personal vanity, to make himself the outstanding figure in world affairs, is incredible to one who, in hundreds of intimate personal contacts, never observed the slightest indication of that besetting foible of most men in public life.

#### WILSON'S HUMOR

No man who did not clearly see the humor of life and estimate correctly his own insignificance in the scheme of things could have greeted me as he did, on my first visit to Trenton: "So you are the gentleman who is to make me famous!" Humor was the Attic salt with which his whole outlook on life was seasoned. Seriously as he took his obligations and responsibilities, as an administrator and as the prophet of a cause, he did not take himself seriously, as the term is used; rather, I came to believe, he was possessed by what might be termed without irreverence a divine humility. He could relish a joke turned against himself as few men can do without rancor; but let some one incautiously ridicule the things he be-

lieved in and his quick resentment found caustic expression!

His instructions to me covering the policy to be pursued in the proposed publicity campaign were explicit. "I am not to be put forward as a candidate for the Presidency," he said. "No man is big enough to seek that high office. I should not refuse it if it were offered to me, but only if the offer came from the people themselves; no man is big enough to refuse that. You must not ask any one to say a word or print a line in my behalf. Confine your activities to answering requests for information. When such inquiries come, tell them the whole truth; there is nothing to be concealed or glossed over. If you are in doubt as to where I stand on any question of public policy concerning which you are asked, come and see me or telephone. I shall refer all inquirers to you." That rule was rigidly adhered to throughout 1911. To do this meant a departure from many previously accepted publicity and campaign methods and the devising of new ones.

The first step was to arrange for a series of public addresses in the West, where Mr. Wilson was unknown. He stipulated that they should not be delivered under any sort of political auspices, and agreed to prepare the outlines of his addresses in advance. He had no facility in memorizing and never, I believe, except when reading his messages to the Congress, failed to depart widely from his notes. Kansas City, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, St. Paul and Minneapolis were selected as the strategic points from which a series of addresses, non-political in the manner of their delivery, but combining to disclose Mr. Wilson's political creed, should be broadcast. Through newspaper friends and others, the heads of representative business organizations in these cities were induced to invite the Governor of New Jersey to address their members in May. As soon as the requisite eight invitations were in, and the dates for each appearance fixed, the announcement of Mr. Wilson's im-



pending tour was given to the press associations. A flood of invitations, genuinely spontaneous, poured in from every part of the West. Only one was accepted. It was from the Chamber of Commerce of Lincoln, Neb., the home of William Jennings Bryan, and was signed by his brother, Charles W. Bryan, now Governor of Nebraska.

Governor Wilson referred this telegraphic invitation to the committee of his friends. So far as I know the three men, Messrs. Page, McCorkle and McCombs, had but two meetings at which all three were present. The Lincoln telegram almost precipitated a third meeting, however. Although I had ascertained that on the only date on which it would be possible for Mr. Wilson to be in Lincoln, Mr. Bryan would be at Atlantic City addressing the Presbyterian General Assembly, the mere suggestion of visiting Lincoln at all was shocking to both McCorkle and McCombs; they feared the Governor would be somehow compromised, and they had all the Eastern Democrat's horror of the very name of Bryan. I

met them in Mr. McCorkle's office at 29 Wall Street, where, after much shuddering, they decided to ask Dr. Page's advice and abide by it. He could not be induced to come to a personal conference, and over the telephone ridiculed their fears.

#### IRKSOME PREPARATIONS

Governor Wilson had agreed to dictate the outlines of his addresses in advance, but ten days before the date set for the beginning of the trip he

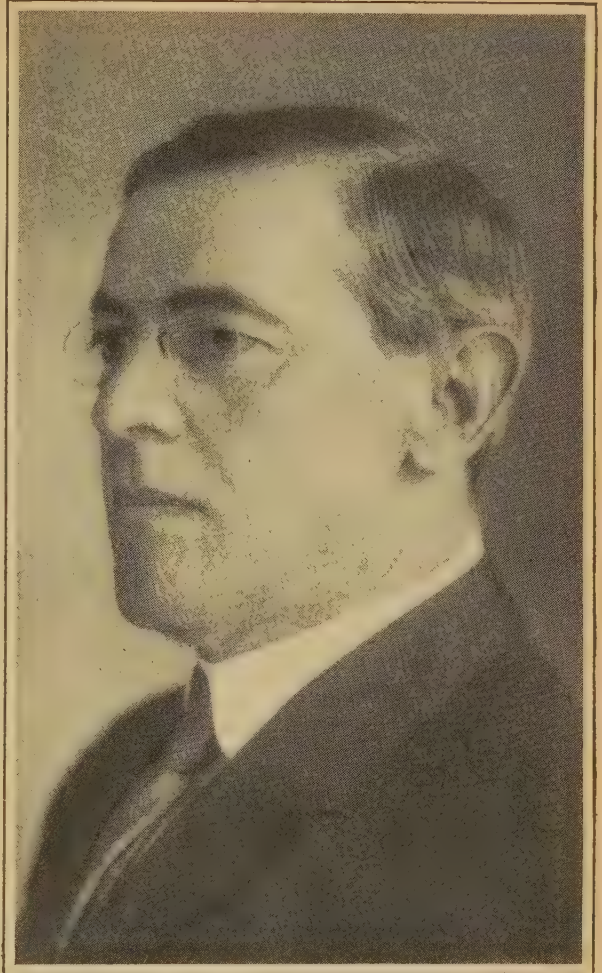


Photo by William H. Stockbridge

#### WOODROW WILSON IN 1911

This photograph, which was used in the pre-convention publicity campaign, was taken at Seagirt in August, 1911, and is the only one of twenty-seven made at that time which Mrs. Wilson accepted as a perfect likeness

had not written a word of them. On my insistent urging he hurriedly prepared the first two, for Kansas City and Denver. These were immediately put in type and delivered to the press associations, to be mailed to their constituent newspapers subject to telegraphic release when delivered. This had to be done at least a week ahead of the delivery date, to insure complete distribution. It became necessary, then, for me to make telegraphic arrange-

ments for competent stenographers to be at the Governor's service at Kansas City and Denver, to arrange the daily schedules at those points so as to give Mr. Wilson time to dictate the speeches he was to make at the other places, and to establish contact with printing offices and press association representatives in these cities, if his addresses were to get the desired nation-wide distribution. This was all new and extremely irksome to Mr. Wilson; theretofore he had never prepared a speech in advance and his political addresses in New Jersey had been distributed by telegraph after delivery.

On May 3, 1911, I took a Pennsylvania train from New York and by arrangement met Governor Wilson at North Philadelphia, to start on the Western tour. He was waiting for me, and with him was a young man who had introduced himself as Vance McCormick, editor and publisher of *The Harrisburg Patriot*. Another young man joined us; he was McKee Barclay of *The Baltimore Evening Sun*. Charles H. Grasty, publisher of *The Baltimore Sun*, had sent him to accompany Governor Wilson on the tour as far as Kansas City. Mr. Grasty's interest in Mr. Wilson, thus manifested, was so greatly stimulated by Barclay's telegraphic reports that he instructed the latter to make the whole tour, which he did, proving a most agreeable and useful traveling companion. Mr. McCormick left the train at Harrisburg, pledging whatever assistance he could give in Pennsylvania. Thus, at the very outset of our campaign, there were enlisted two supporters who proved extremely valuable; and this was the first support in any concrete form for Mr. Wilson's candidacy to come from outside the State of New Jersey, except for the group of three New Yorkers.

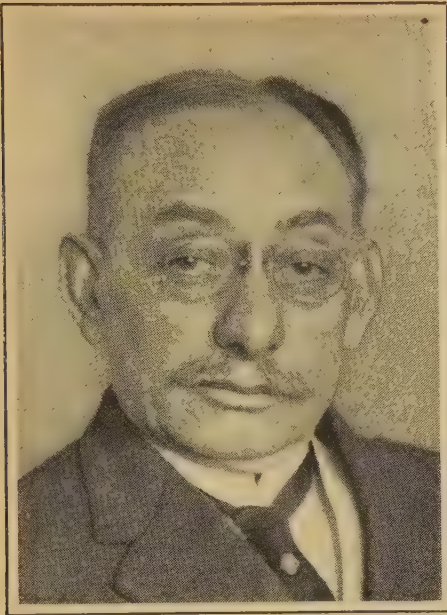
We changed trains at St. Louis, and in the three-hour interval there established two other contacts which were to prove valuable later. Edward F. Goltra, National Committeeman from Missouri, the home State of Champ Clark, who was to become the most formidable contender for the nomination thirteen

months later, met us at the railroad station. Mr. Wilson declined Mr. Goltra's invitation to dine with him, but in the half hour spent with him formed an impression which was justified by later events and which assisted materially in the political manoeuvres which were to come. It was at St. Louis also that Charles B. Cochrane, political reporter for *The St. Louis Republic*, had the first interview with Mr. Wilson to be published in the West. Mr. Cochrane thus formed an attachment which resulted in his being drafted later for publicity work in the Presidential campaign.

The reaction in Kansas City to Governor Wilson's address before the Knife and Fork Club was all that had been hoped. Several hundred of the city's leading citizens heard him and liked him; the newspapers gave him ample space. Our campaign was launched under happy auspices. The schedule for each day, hour by hour, provided for interviews with local newspaper men twice daily. The Governor was inclined to balk at this arrangement, but yielded gracefully, even to the point of climbing out on a balcony to give the photographers a better chance. He never did become quite reconciled to interviewers; what he had to say he said in his addresses and the personal and often unintelligent questions asked by local reporters caused him a good deal of annoyance, which, however, he managed to conceal in their presence. For a novice, he came through this ordeal in Kansas City with great credit.

On the way to Denver, examining the schedule for the stop there, he noted the time set apart to receive the press. "Do I have to go through that again?" he asked. "Everywhere we stop, Governor," I assured him. It took a deal of explaining to make him see the difference between himself as a local news feature and himself as a man with a message. The message would be telegraphed, but in every town he would be a personality of current local interest and would have to resign himself to that fact. He learned to do this with





WALTER HINES PAGE

Born Aug. 15, 1855; United States Ambassador to Great Britain, 1913-18; died Dec. 22, 1918

outward grace, but with much inward protest.

#### NATION-WIDE DISCONTENT

At Wymore, Neb., where the train stopped to change locomotives, a railroad man in a jumper, wiping his hands on a piece of cotton waste, came up to the Governor as he was walking up and down the platform, and introduced himself as the Mayor of Wymore. It developed that he had been elected on the Socialist ticket. Mr. Wilson expressed surprise that there should be such a strong Socialist vote there. "It wasn't socialism that elected me," the Mayor replied. "Only about 20 per cent. socialism and 80 per cent. protest." "That typifies a national condition," Mr. Wilson said, after we had started again. "There is a tremendous undercurrent of protest, which is bound to find expression. Taft will be renominated by the Republicans; unless the Democrats nominate some one whom the people can accept as expressing this protest there will be a radical third party formed and the result of the elec-

tion may be little short of a revolution." The triumph at Kansas City was repeated and magnified at Denver. Here, besides his set speech before the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Wilson made an address, almost impromptu, to an audience of 13,000 on the subject "The Bible and Progress." This had not been planned in advance. As the train was approaching Denver the Governor took a telegram from his pocket. "I should have told you of this before," he said. "As I was leaving Trenton I received this invitation from my friend, the Rev. Mr. Houghton, and I wired accepting it. I suppose it will be a meeting of his own congregation, at his church." The telegram was an invitation to speak at the celebration of the tercentenary of the King James Version of the Bible. As we reached Denver on Sunday morning we were amazed to discover from the morning papers that Governor Wilson was to address a mass meeting at the Auditorium that evening. All the Protestant churches in the city were foregoing their evening services to give their members an opportunity to hear him. "I wonder what I have let myself in for!" was Mr. Wilson's comment. "I have made no preparation, thinking I would talk only to a little gathering in Houghton's church. I must have a little time today to think over what I shall say."

The best that could be done without canceling other engagements was to arrange for a secluded hour, just before the mass meeting. From the notes which he jotted down on little slips of paper, in his minute but legible shorthand, Mr. Wilson made an address on the theme of the Bible as a guide to statesmanship which moved that huge audience as I have seldom seen an audience moved. This unexpected occasion created a problem in publicity which called for careful handling. Nothing is more dangerous to a public man's career than to be misquoted on a religious subject, and nothing is more likely to happen. The problem was solved by obtaining the services of the best court stenographer in Denver and luring the newspaper reporters into an anteroom while Mr. Wilson was speak-

ing, with the promise of a perfect verbatim report by 11 P. M. Senator and former Governor T. M. Patterson, owner of *The Rocky Mountain News*, was among those on the platform. His promise to publish Mr. Wilson's address in full was obtained. As soon as the speech was finished the stenographer and I went to The Associated Press office, where he dictated from his notes to me at the typewriter, making a dozen or more carbon copies, to supply all the papers and press associations. The next day four hundred copies of *The Rocky Mountain News* were purchased and mailed to as many religious publications, of all denominations, with a form letter giving them permission to reprint the address. All printed some part of it; many used it entire. One Methodist Bishop was so pleased with it that he recommended to his clergy that they read the address the following Sunday instead of a sermon. During the following year more than a million reprints of this address were printed and circulated as the result of this publicity.

Naturally, as Barclay and myself became better acquainted with Governor Wilson, in the intimacy of traveling together, he talked more and more freely to us. Between Denver and Los Angeles, crossing the New Mexico desert, the Governor sat silently gazing out of the window for an hour.

#### THE PROBLEM OF BRYAN

"I have been thinking," he said at last, "of the responsibilities the next President of the United States will have thrust upon him, if he should be a Democrat; and the more I think about it the more I am inclined to hope it will not be I. He will start his Administration with an extremely difficult and delicate problem—what to do with Mr. Bryan."

"Make him Ambassador to Great Britain," I suggested.

"If he were the man for that post, I don't believe he would accept it," Mr. Wilson answered. "He will not be content to be so far away from the centre of activity; yet, if he is in Washington he will want to meddle. In any Demo-

cratic Congress he will have a large following, and unless the President has a united Congress he can accomplish little. It is not Mr. Bryan so much as Mr. Bryan's friends, who will think he has been slighted if he is not given a good post, whom the next President, if a Democrat, has to fear. And what use would he be in a Cabinet?"

"The Secretary of the Interior should come from the West," I suggested.

"But that is an administrative post, and I cannot conceive of Mr. Bryan as an administrator of anything," Mr. Wilson objected.

The three of us canvassed the possible ways of disposing of Mr. Bryan. At that time there was no visible shadow of the World War impending only three years ahead. The international barometer stood, apparently, at "set fair."

"The place where Bryan can make the least trouble and get the greatest personal glory is as Secretary of State," the Governor finally declared. "Of course his friends will claim that he is the power behind the throne and represent the President as a puppet, with Bryan pulling the strings, and the Opposition will make the most of that assumption. Any President might well pray to be spared that, but he will have to choose between that and making an enemy of Bryan and facing a divided and recalcitrant Congress."

This was thirteen months before the Baltimore Convention, where Bryan reluctantly withdrew his support from Champ Clark and threw it to Wilson, giving him the nomination; but Bryan's position in the Wilson Administration was settled that day on the Santa Fé train. In this conversation, too, may be found the key to the relations between Wilson and Bryan which culminated in Bryan's resignation from the Cabinet.

We had barely crossed the Colorado River before California newspaper reporters of both sexes boarded the train and sought the Governor's opinions on every conceivable subject, chief of which in local importance was woman suffrage, which was to be voted on at the next State election. This is the only topic on which I knew Mr. Wilson to take an attitude that could be inter-

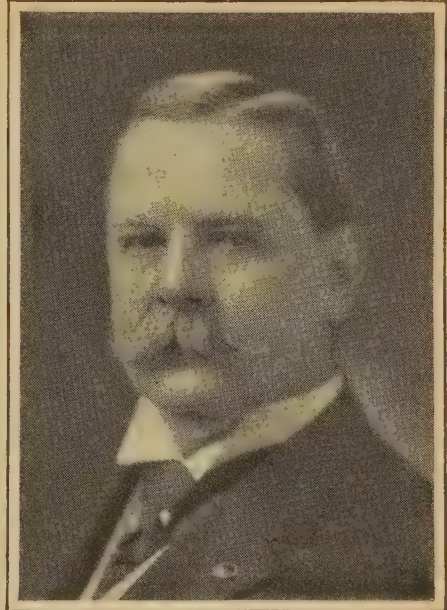


preted as dodging the issue. He was definitely and irreconcilably opposed to woman suffrage; woman's place was in the home, and the type of woman who took an active part in the suffrage agitation was totally abhorrent to him. In private conversation he made no bones of his aversion to the "unsexed, masculinized woman," as he termed them; his ideal of womanhood was the perfectly feminine type. There was something degrading to the sex in public activities of a political nature, he believed. This did not imply that a woman should not have interests outside of the home. Mrs. Wilson herself, for whom her husband's attachment was almost devotional, was a painter of no little merit, and he spoke with pride of her membership in the National Arts Club and the exhibitions of her paintings there. But women in politics he simply did not understand. He came to know more about them later, and his general view may have been modified, but at this time it was sharply opposed to the woman suffrage idea.

At Denver, where women were already voters and there was no occasion for discussion of the subject, I had arranged to have the late Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, one of the most popular and influential leaders of the suffrage movement, seated by Mr. Wilson's side at two or three private and semi-public dinners and luncheons; that was calculated to pacify the suffragists, and it had a wider effect than that, for the last words Mrs. Decker said to me, just before we left Denver, were that she would use all of her influence to swing the women voters to him. But when we got to California it seemed as if a "showdown" were inevitable, especially as an extremely good-looking and persistent young newspaper woman tried to "corner" the Governor all the way from Barstow to San Francisco.

#### AGAINST WOMEN'S VOTES

"There is one truthful and consistent attitude I can take, and only one," he said to Barclay and myself. "This will be my answer whenever the question is asked, and it should be yours. The suffrage question is a live issue in



WALTER L. McCORKLE

California, to be voted on at the next election. It would not be becoming for the Governor of another State to say anything which might influence the election one way or the other. Suffrage is not a national issue, so far; it is a local issue for each State to settle for itself."

That remained his official and public attitude on woman suffrage until, by Constitutional amendment, it became a part of the fundamental law of the land. His attitude on prohibition was similar. He was opposed to it, as an effort to regulate morals by legislation. His veto of the Volstead act was no surprise to any one who knew his mind on the subject. He regarded the question as one to be settled by each community for itself and deprecated every attempt to make it a political issue. This attitude nearly cost him the Texas delegation later, where there was no Republican vote but the Democrats were sharply divided into "wets" and "drys," with the "drys" in control. One of the most delicate tasks which the publicity of office had to perform was to write letters to Cato Sells, later Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which he could show to

"wet" and "dry" leaders in Texas and satisfy both sides. And that would have failed had not Colonel E. M. House taken a hand in the Texas situation. That, however, is another story.

Everywhere along the route the Governor's reception was enthusiastic. At Lincoln, the last stop, we visited Fairmount, the home of Mr. Bryan. Mrs. Bryan received us cordially and we inspected the "show" rooms of the mansion, crammed with souvenirs of Bryan's three Presidential campaigns and gifts from admirers in incongruous confusion. "What did you think of that house?" Mr. Wilson asked, as we drove away. "A cross-section of Mr. Bryan's mind," I suggested. "Just what I was thinking," the Governor replied.

At Washington on June 4, after Governor Wilson had spent a day in his hotel rooms, meeting various Senators and members of Congress, as well as newspaper men, there was a dinner at which the situation as it now appeared, relative to his possible nomination, was discussed. Those seated around the round table were Dr. Walter H. Page and his brother, Representative Page of North Carolina; William F. McCombs, Walter L. McCorkle, Joseph P. Tumulty, Vance McCormick and myself, besides the Governor.

Mr. Wilson had spent an hour that day with Representative Oscar Underwood of Alabama. Several times during the Western trip he had discussed other possible Presidential candidates and had made it clear that of all the leaders in the party he thought most highly of Mr. Underwood. Once he had gone so far as to say that if he were sure that Mr. Underwood were devoted to the fundamental principles of democracy, as he saw them, he would cancel the rest of his tour, tell his friends he was not to be considered as a possible nominee, and give his support to Underwood. But he made it plain at this dinner that his conversation with Mr. Underwood had not impressed him with the Alabamian's fundamental democracy.

The results of the Western tour were canvassed, and the verdict was that it had been successful in setting up a strong Wilson sentiment. The decision

was to go on as we had begun. Funds were exhausted; the original \$3,000 had been spent, besides \$50 which "Charlie" Bryan had handed me at Lincoln, and there was a \$30 deficit which Mr. McCorkle, who had been treasurer up to this time, made up personally. The Governor asked Mr. McCombs to undertake the raising of necessary funds to support an office which I was to open for the continuance of the publicity campaign. So we rented rooms in the Empire Trust Building, 42 Broadway, New York City, where there was nothing on door or letterheads to indicate the purpose, merely my own name, and McCombs began his difficult but successful effort to beg money from men who would not ask for anything in return. We never had as much as a thousand dollars on hand at any one time; the first check of that size, from Cleveland H. Dodge, had been mortgaged in advance for office salaries!

#### THE PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN

The publicity campaign began by letting the public know, through letters to editors and to the voluntary inquirers who now began to write in by thousands, that any one who wanted information about Governor Wilson or photographs of him or copies of his "key" speeches could get them by applying to me. And we subscribed to every newspaper clipping bureau in the country and watched results. They began to show by August. Twenty thousand clippings a week, all favorable to Mr. Wilson, was a not unusual number. Our office force grew from one young man stenographer, Morris Lyon, who had worked with me at my home before the Western trip, to thirty. To supply friendly newspapers we issued a weekly "clipsheet" compiled from the clippings received. We did not write or send out a single original article of any kind, but saw to it that what others said of Mr. Wilson was given the widest possible distribution.

A young newspaper man of Trenton, Harry Alexander, publisher of the daily True American, wanted to help. We arranged to take over the first page,





Champlain Studios, N. Y.

FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

the editorial page and the page following, of his Saturday issue each week, and he put on his mailing list for that issue every name we furnished him. We filled *The True American's* pages with what others said about Mr. Wilson and the text of his speeches and put on that mailing list every newspaper editor in the country and the name of everybody whom we could learn of who had ever been active in Democratic politics. There was no complete list, even of members of Democratic State Committees, gathered in one place at that time. An entire section of our office was engaged in correspondence, having for its purpose the gathering of the names of party workers, card-indexing and classifying them; we had a working list of 40,000 names before November, classified with fair accuracy as to their attitude toward Mr. Wilson.

In July Vance McCormick sent word that there was a possible chance to execute a political coup in Pennsylvania, and I went to Harrisburg to see him. The two wings of the party were to meet on the same day; by playing the

leaders of one faction against the other, McCormick thought both wings might be pledged to Wilson. He was told to go ahead and do what he could. He did what he undertook to do, and the seventy-six Pennsylvania delegates to the Democratic National Convention to be held nearly a year later were safely "sewed up" for Woodrow Wilson.

In July, also, McCombs called on William G. McAdoo, then known to fame only as the promoter of the Hudson-Manhattan tunnel system, to ask for a contribution to the Wilson fund. Mr. McAdoo was eager to help. He had been watching Governor Wilson's career in New Jersey with great interest. As a former resident of New Jersey, where he had at one time been a member of the State Board of Charities, he had a natural interest in New Jersey politics. Moreover, as the builder and President of the interstate Hudson Tunnel system his operations came under the jurisdiction of the New Jersey Public Utilities Commission, and the legislation which Governor Wilson sponsored and the Legislature adopted, for the regulation of public utilities in the public interest, appealed to Mr. McAdoo's sense of democracy and public service. He had had a casual meeting or two with Mr. Wilson, but nothing approaching intimacy or even personal friendship had existed between them up to this time. Indeed, it was not until the following Autumn, at the annual dinner of the Southern Society in December, 1911, that Mr. McAdoo first met the Governor's daughter Eleanor, who was later to become Mrs. McAdoo. Mr. McAdoo volunteered, besides a money contribution, the services of the head of his railroad publicity staff, Byron R. Newton, who later was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and Collector of the Port of New York during the war. Newton and I were old friends, and I needed help, so the offer was gratefully accepted, and Newton proved a tower of strength.

#### COLONEL HOUSE'S INFLUENCE

Some time in August reports began to come in to the office of a mysterious man from Texas who had been calling

on the Governor. Nobody knew him; nobody had ever heard of him. His name was Edward M. House. How Colonel House and Governor Wilson first met I never knew. He had come from Texas to "look over" Mr. Wilson, and liked him. He gained the Governor's confidence so rapidly that McCombs, who was beginning to develop the political ambitions that were so manifest later, showed signs of jealousy. Indeed, the presence of Colonel House, who not only saw Governor Wilson several times that Summer but was known to have visited several other prominent Democrats, was the subject of considerable speculation in our little circle. I remember a conference between Mr. McCorkle, Mr. McCombs, Mr. Newton and myself at which Mr. McCorkle expressed the opinion that House was nothing less than an emissary of Bryan, and that the Governor should be warned to have nothing to do with him. There seems to be some ground for the belief that Colonel House hesitated for a long time before committing himself to Mr. Wilson's candidacy and using his influence with the Texas people to support the Governor of New Jersey. That he was strongly inclined toward William J. Gaynor, then Mayor of New York, there is no doubt. However, when the Baltimore convention met the following Summer, Colonel House was behind Mr. Wilson, and after election the personal intimacy which had begun at Seagirt in 1911 was resumed and intensified.

It was not in McCombs's nature to tolerate any intimacy between the Governor and any one but himself. When the relations between Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Wilson began to grow closer, McCombs lost no opportunity to attempt to undermine McAdoo. Mr. McAdoo had Governor Wilson's confidence to an extent which McCombs never gained, and it is certain that all the antagonism which McCombs later showed toward Mr. Wilson had its origin in the former's jealousy of McAdoo's close relations. Mr. Wilson had confidence in Mr. McAdoo's judgment; he had little in McCombs's, however he may have

appreciated his enthusiasm and loyalty, while these lasted. Byron Newton's delicate and difficult task for months was to keep McCombs from doing things, saying things and writing letters which would have entangled the whole Wilson movement in party squabbles so inextricably that there never would have been a chance for his nomination.

One day in August Fred Seeley, then publisher of The Atlanta Daily Georgian, who had volunteered his services, as hundreds of men did throughout the country, invited me to meet Colonel John Temple Graves at luncheon. I accepted, and Colonel Graves asked me to convey to Governor Wilson an invitation from him to dine at his home, for the purpose of meeting Mr. Hearst. I conveyed the invitation to the Governor without comment. "Please tell Colonel Graves that under no circumstances will I meet Mr. Hearst, if I can avoid it," was his instant and emphatic reply. "Make that as strong as you please. I would rather have Hearst's opposition than his support." I conveyed the message, and the Governor had his wish.

My work was finished in December, 1911. The problem thereafter was one of political organization rather than publicity, and I had no personal political ambitions nor skill in political manoeuvring. I drove across New Jersey, from Plainfield to Princeton, one rainy night, with Governor Wilson, and there we discussed the whole situation. It was apparent then that sooner or later a break must come between Mr. McAdoo and Mr. McCombs; apparent, too, that McCombs's recklessness and unbounded personal ambitions called for a strong curb if he was not to wreck the still unfinished structure. The Governor could not, if he would, take any position which would alienate either of these two most active of his lieutenants, but my withdrawal would leave Byron Newton, who was Mr. McAdoo's right-hand man, in charge of the bureau; to this McCombs could take no exception, and it seemed a particularly happy solution. So, with the utmost good-will on both



sides, which continued unbroken until the end, we said "good-night."

To carry this narrative further would be to go beyond the record of matters which came under my personal observation. The success of the publicity method adopted had demonstrated itself by the beginning of 1912, and the tide of public sentiment, setting strongly toward Governor Wilson, developed a regenerative effect which made further external acceleration unnecessary. Political leaders not inextricably committed to other candidates began to flock to the Wilson standard. Volunteers and political novices were moving in thirty States to build organizations which were calculated to wrest party control from the old leaders, and in some instances succeeded in doing so.

The net result of these efforts was to bring to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, which met on June 25, 1912, the irreducible minimum of 324 delegates for Wilson. This number was nearly forty votes short of enough to prevent the nomination of another candidate under the two-thirds rule, if the other delegates had all plumped for one man, but it was the largest single block of delegates except the 440½ for Champ Clark on the first ballot, and it stood together in a solid phalanx and grew in numbers with each succeeding ballot. "Wait till you hear from the folks back home," was the Wilson men's slogan in the Baltimore Convention. The "folks back home" were for Wilson; there was never the slightest doubt of that. To every appeal to switch to Champ Clark, Underwood or Harmon that answer was final. And it had its effect. Harmon delegates first, in whose State of Ohio Wilson had divided the delegation with their own popular but conservative Governor, swung to Wilson; then little by little the contest narrowed down to a two-man fight between Champ Clark and Wilson.

On the tenth ballot Clark reached his zenith; he received 556 votes, twelve more than a clear majority of the delegates. All that Mr. McAdoo and Mr. McCombs could do, personally directing the Wilson forces, seemed ineffective.

By the irony of fate, it was Mr. Bryan who turned the scale. The adoption on Thursday of Bryan's resolution denouncing the "money power" and declaring that Morgan, Ryan and Belmont were in a conspiracy to purchase the nomination of a man friendly to their interests, a resolution adopted by the convention in the face of the fact that two of the men named in it, Thomas Fortune Ryan and August Belmont, were seated in the convention as delegates, sufficiently indicated the extremely progressive temper of the gathering. By Friday night it seemed certain that Clark would be nominated the first thing Saturday morning. Tammany's solid adherence to the Missourian left no doubt as to what candidate the Bryan resolution had been aimed at. He might have been nominated that night had not "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma put to the convention the searching question: "Is this convention going to surrender its leadership to Tammany Hall?"

#### THE NOMINATION WON

McCombs had given up hope. He telephoned to Governor Wilson late on Friday night that there was no hope of his nomination, and the Governor had begun to prepare a telegram of congratulation to Champ Clark. "Shall I tell your friends to vote for Underwood?" McCombs had asked Wilson. "No; do not try to bind them. Set them free from their obligation to me, if there is no chance," the Governor had replied. McCombs was about to pass the word of Wilson's withdrawal to the convention when Roger Sullivan, the veteran Democratic leader of Illinois, who had been in conference with Mr. Bryan, rushed over to him and said: "Don't do that; sit steady in the boat!"

The Wilson hope lay in an adjournment before the fourteenth ballot, until Saturday morning. Before the balloting had begun on Saturday, Mr. Bryan again gained the platform and in an impassioned speech declared that he would bolt the party if a Wall Street candidate were nominated. At the same time he switched his vote from Clark to Wilson. He had followed his instructions

as delegate faithfully for thirteen ballots, but the time had come for him to make his words good by action. The Wilson gains began with this fourteenth ballot. He had received 356 on the thirteenth; on the fourteenth his vote was 362; the twenty-fifth, taken late on Saturday, gave him 405 votes to the 469 which Clark stubbornly held. Then came the adjournment over Sunday, and before the delegates assembled again on Monday morning they had heard, and heard emphatically from "the folks back home." The news of Bryan's switch to Wilson had penetrated to every corner of the country, and the followers of "the Commoner," whose influence was still dominant with the mass of the Democratic voters in the whole Mississippi Valley, had kept the telegraph and telephone wires busy all day and night Sunday, urging their delegates to follow his example.

Wilson gained ground with every ballot on Monday. On the thirtieth ballot, for the first time, his vote was larger than Clark's—460 to 455. Then, on the forty-third ballot, Roger Sullivan cast a divided vote for the Illinois delegation, which he was enabled to do by the adoption at the beginning of the convention of a resolution abrogating the time-honored "unit rule." He gave 40 votes to Wilson and 18 to Clark; the count stood 602 for Wilson to 329 for Clark. On the forty-fourth ballot Wil-

son's vote was 629; on the forty-fifth 633. Then, on the forty-sixth ballot, Oscar Underwood withdrew his name, releasing his 97 delegates, who elected almost in a body for Wilson. This was followed by Champ Clark's withdrawal, and the roll-call had got only as far as Ohio when the tally showed a clear two-thirds for Wilson. The roll-call was never completed; the nomination was made unanimous by a viva voce vote.

I stood with Dr. Walter Hines Page in front of The New York Times bulletin board in Times Square watching the returns from the convention as they were flashed on the screen. When the final result was announced we crossed to the old Knickerbocker Hotel for food and the opportunity to draw a long breath. Our minds went back simultaneously to the day, sixteen months earlier, when we had last sat down alone together. "Well, Stockbridge, it looks to me as if we started something," said Dr. Page. The appeal to the American people over the heads of their leaders, the audacious political experiment begun and carried out by political amateurs, had succeeded better than any of us had hoped. There is, I believe, no room for doubt that its success inspired Mr. Wilson's effort to use the same method, more than seven years later, in appealing to the peoples of all Europe, over the heads of their leaders, for support for his peace program.





# Religious and Racial Prejudices in the United States

By FRANK JOHNSTON JR.

Justice Illinois Appellate Court, Chicago

RELIGIOUS and racial prejudices are assuming alarming proportions in the United States. The alien or formerly alien element of our population is being bitterly attacked on the ground that these people of foreign birth, the product of foreign environment, are a menace to our civilization, owing either to their refusal or their inability to become assimilated; that they are seeking to impose their alien traditions and ideas on the fundamental fabric of our democracy and to destroy the religious and moral background of our race: in short, it is believed and asserted by the holders of these views that the alien breed within our gates is imperiling our national existence. Hence the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, leagued, in the name of 100 per cent. Americanism, against the negro, the foreigner, the Jew and the Catholic; hence the immigration bill passed by the United States Congress aimed at the drastic limitation of foreign immigration, including Asiatics, from our shores. Thus religious and racial prejudice again raises its hideous viper's head in these our United States, making it clearly apparent that the time has come for the sober and thoughtful members of our community who see the danger—not from the alien, but from the spirit animating his accusers—to pause, as Virgil paused in Dante's epic, and to point out to our pilgrim nation the sombre and unsafe paths that lie beyond.

There is only one way by which to reach the truth, and that is by frank, open and unprejudiced discussion. According to Bagehot, discussion is the main force by which civilization is advanced; and that eminent author adds that when a nation reaches the stage

where it is capable of discussing questions with "animated moderation," that nation is progressing toward an improved civilization. Edmund Burke said: "I am not of the opinion of those gentlemen who are against disturbing the public repose; I like a clamor whenever there is an abuse."

In the specific case at hand, it is only by calm and judicial weighing of the evidence that we can determine whether there is any sound basis for religious and racial prejudices in the United States. This discussion, it is obvious, must include prominently the question of what has been termed "the alien menace" to this country. It should be pointed out that the word "alien" used in this connection is inaccurate. Former foreigners who have become American citizens are not "aliens," but new Americans. Apparently the word "alien" is used to embrace what is described by one writer as "these heterogeneous stocks of humanity" which actually "became partners in the American system through a sort of christening process called 'naturalization' or by the mere accident of being born within the limits of the Republic." Some contemporary writers seem to think that conditions have reached a stage where the country is threatened with dire calamity by alien influences. One of these writers says: "The problem ceases to be 'How can we get along with these strangers?' It becomes, 'Are not these strangers about to swallow us up?' The question 'How can we Americanize the aliens?' becomes: 'Are not the aliens alienizing America?'"

It is inconceivable to me how a reasonable man can imagine that such an alarming condition exists in this coun-

try. Those who entertain these opinions are evidently serious and sincere, but they are unduly agitated. We find views expressed in the following extravagant strain: "At this point the historic American majority, forced into an awareness that the *very fundamentals of its life and culture* are threatened, begins to react. It wishes to hold its own normally and by due process of law, if it can. But hold its own it will, and it will do so *violently and extra-legally* if it must."

#### NO "IMPOSITION" OF FOREIGN IDEAS

The idea that such writers are trying to convey, when stripped of all wild alarms, has been expressed in this form: That the aliens are attempting "to *impose* their dissentient social and political ideas, ideals and habits" on "old-stock" Americans. Instances have been cited where groups of aliens have attempted, independently of the United States Government, to cooperate with their former Governments in support of certain policies. Such activities in international affairs by alien groups are reprehensible, but they do not constitute efforts to impose "social and political ideas, ideals and habits" on "old-stock" Americans. Cases have been cited where aliens are ignorant of the English language and incapable of being Americanized, but this also does not prove the point at issue, though it opens up serious questions which will eventually have to be answered. Conditions again have been quoted in New Mexico, where the natives are largely of Mexican stock, and in Louisiana, many of whose citizens are of French stock. These two last examples, however, directly disprove the contention that the aliens are attempting "to impose their dissentient social and political ideas, ideals and habits" on "old-stock" Americans. They show, on the contrary, that "old-stock" Americans are the dominating force in both New Mexico and Louisiana. We are told that in New Mexico, which is described as "an old non-Anglo-Saxon settlement," all judicial offices, with one exception, during seventy-five years of American life, have been held by "Anglo-Saxons"; that in Louisiana the

Code Napoléon has been practically supplanted by the common law, for the reason that the common law, which is largely the dominant force of the bench and bar of that State, has been wielded by "Anglo-Saxons."

The only specific instances that seem to be offered in proof of the charge referred to are two: (1) that in New York City the "Jews, from a humility that was almost abject years ago, have developed to a point where they are the most self-assertive element in the political life of the city, dictating terms to the Irish leaders—who, indeed, are an earlier example of the same process," and (2) that the Jews "have led the movement to exclude the Bible—a historical and fundamental textbook of Anglo-Saxon education—from the public schools and have been aided in this by the Catholic elements of our alien population, notably the Irish and the Poles."

#### POLITICAL AGGRESSIVENESS LEGITIMATE

Regarding the first charge it may be asked why the Jews in New York should not become active and even aggressive in politics? Between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 Jews, many of whom are of the second and third generation and are educated and cultured, reside in the metropolis. The alien elements among this race are law-abiding, industrious and ambitious, and rapidly becoming useful, patriotic Americans. The Jews pay a large percentage of the taxes and bear their share of the burdens of government. Has the "old stock" American principle of taxation without representation been forgotten? Are the Jews to be permitted only to bear the burden of government, without sharing in any of the benefits? The solidarity and aloofness of the aliens is criticized, yet there is also an objection when they take an active part in governmental affairs. I am glad to see the Jews outgrowing what is termed their "humility that was almost abject years ago." We do not want Americans who have an "inferiority complex." We want strong, independent, self-assertive Americans. We do not want them either offensively assertive or abjectly humble, but of the two evils I myself would pre-



fer the former. It is said that the Irish are an "earlier example of the same process" as the Jews, but there seems to be an implication that the Irish have reached a stage of American development where it is permissible for them to be leaders. The process of development objected to is the natural and logical one through which all foreign elements must pass in their Americanization.

#### EXCLUDING THE BIBLE FROM SCHOOLS

The second example given of alien influences is the attempt to exclude the Bible from the public schools. In this attempt it is said that the Jews are aided by the Catholic elements, notably the Irish and the Poles. It may be stated in passing that the Irish have long been recognized as one of the best racial strains in America, and it is a well-known fact that the Poles are making a splendid type of American citizen. But the Jewish and the Catholic elements are not the only groups in this country that object to the Bible being read in public schools. There are Protestants and agnostics among the "Old Stock," who also think that it should be excluded. The main premises on which the Bible argument against aliens is founded is that the basis of the democracy of this country is Protestantism, and that aliens will change this basic character. It is stated by one writer that "the basis of the democracy which George Washington fathered" was, "on the side of religion, distinctly Christian, and specifically Protestant"; that "it is distinctly this Anglo-Saxon and Protestant character which makes government of and by the people" applicable "to the American Church"; that "in the Church it means the *voice of the laity*." Evidently these writers have not kept abreast of the times; they do not seem to be aware of the fact that the Fundamentalists no longer tolerate the "voice of the laity" in the Church. Furthermore, the arguments of these writers assume that all aliens are non-Protestant, which is not the fact. But the vicious and indefensible feature of their position is the implication that our democracy, presumably our Government, should be avowedly Protestant. I, for

one, do not want it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Atheist or Pagan; I want it to be kept absolutely free from any religious sect or influence.

If the intention is to make this country Protestant by moral suasion, and not by law, there can be no logical objection. It is obvious, however, that under the United States Constitution and the State Constitutions, neither Protestantism, nor even Christianity, could be established by law, which knows no distinction between religions. The United States Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Similar provisions are contained in the Constitution of the various States, I want to see these constitutional mandates strictly observed, not only in the letter, but in the spirit. In their zeal for a State Church, furthermore, some persons forget American history. They do not seem to remember that one of the early acts of the States was to separate the Church and the State. Virginia, the native State of George Washington, led in this respect, passing a law in 1785 which created a profound impression throughout Europe. Thomas Jefferson, on whose tombstone is inscribed in accordance with his direction the words, "For religious freedom," said: "And who is this to dogmatize religious opinions of our citizens? Whose foot is to be the measure to which ours are all to be cut or stretched?"

#### KU KLUX KLAN VS. CATHOLICS AND JEWS

It has become the fashion to say that there is something wrong with this country; that the Ku Klux Klan is a symptom. "Alienism," in the opinion of some writers who sympathize with the Klan viewpoint, is the chief cause of what they conceive to be the unsatisfactory state of affairs, and "alienism," as they interpret it, means principally Roman Catholicism and Semiticism. I do not believe that any substantial evils result from the presence of large numbers of former aliens now in this country; nor do I believe that the Ku Klux Klan can find any basis for its existence in that fact. The Klan is

merely a modern manifestation of old prejudices against the Catholics, Jews and foreigners, which have existed since the beginning of our Government. As early as 1783 there were people who were opposed to the Society of the Cincinnati because they thought that the society had been "created by a foreign influence in order to change our form of government." The phrase "native Americanism" appeared in 1817. Anti-Catholic riots occurred in 1834 in Philadelphia, Trenton, Rochester, Lancaster and Charlestown, Mass. The Order of the United Americans and the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner were organizations based on the idea of native Americanism against the foreigner. The Know-Nothing Party and the American Protective Association appeared, respectively, in 1853 and 1887. The members of the Know-Nothing Party, according to McMaster, "recognized one another by signs, grips, passwords, signals of distress, test questions and rallying cries," all of which reminds one of the Klan of today. The Ku Klux Klan is simply a social phenomenon similar in principle to its historical progenitors. It adds another to the class conscious groups of this country.

#### ETHNIC HATRED OF THE FOREIGNER

There is undoubtedly something ethnic in this dislike of the alien which is assuming such intensity at the present time. The term "stranger" is the one adopted by many ethnologists in treating of the clannish or tribal hatred felt for all outsiders. There is an old saying that "a man is a wolf to a man he does not know." Bagehot expresses this idea as follows: "Whoever speaks two languages is a rascal" says the saying, and it rightly represents the feeling of primitive communities when the sudden impact of new thoughts and new examples breaks down the compact despotism of the single consecrated code." The dislike of the foreigner among the uneducated and illiterate is well expressed by the following illustration: "What did 'e say?" said one English laborer to another as a stranger passed by. "I don't know. I couldn't understand 'im; 'e's a foreigner." "Then why

didn't you 'it 'im?" All nations in their development have passed through the stage of hatred to the "stranger." We are all familiar with the traditional hatred of the Chinese for what they call the "foreign devils." At the present time Chinese politicians are advocating the expulsion of all foreigners from China, while the new Immigration law in the United States is a recent manifestation of American prejudice. This dislike of the foreigner in modern civilization is a rudiment in social life, as the coccyx is a rudiment in the human body. It has been said that the physical body of man is "an old curiosity shop, a museum of obsolete anatomies, outgrown organs." The social organism similarly has its relics and curios, products of past ages, which are out of harmony with advanced civilization. Lecky says that "the ideal of one age appears sometimes too grotesque for the caricature of another." The self-preserving instincts and emotions are of very ancient date. The sympathetic emotions are of more recent origin, and are still struggling for permanent expression. A strong and vital nation such as ours, however, is able to walk alone without the crutch of racial prejudice.

What lesson may we learn from the past that will help us in our present situation? It is simply this: That we should not remain passive when dangers threaten to impede the progress of civilization, but should all, both individually and collectively, work actively to combat the dangers. Eternal vigilance is the price of civilization. The most pressing dangers that now confront us arise from religious and racial prejudice. It is most unfortunate that there are people in the United States who are willing to condone or even to cooperate in the perilous work of throwing the brands of religious and racial prejudice into American social life. If the flames are sufficiently fanned it is not difficult to forecast the calamitous results. Instead of intensifying the prejudices, all Americans who have the welfare of their country at heart should endeavor, both by precept and example, to tranquillize conditions. Sympathy and tol-



erance for the beliefs and feelings of one another should be the American slogan.

I do not deny that alienism presents a problem, but in my opinion it is not the kind of problem that many writers imagine. Aliens are not trying to change the form of American Government, nor the fundamental ideas of American social life. Whatever criticism may be directed against their political activities is based more on international than national considerations. In some instances, as I have intimated, they have been too actively and enthusiastically interested in foreign politics. The attempt of any group of aliens or former aliens in America to involve this country in foreign political animosities and entanglements should be most severely condemned.

#### AMERICANIZATION CHIEF PROBLEM

The chief alien problem, aside from the question of immigration laws, as I understand it, is how to inculcate into the aliens the principles of Americanism. This will take time. "Alien leaders" and social workers are engaged in this task, and the reports of their work are encouraging. There are some students of the subject who express the view that the public school will accomplish a large part of the work, and I agree with them. Others do not believe in the "possibility of the absorption of racial heritages under the assimilative process of American democratic forces." It is the opinion of one writer that foreign racial "characteristics will be transmitted from generation to generation, practically unchanged." This view is directly contrary to observation and experience, and also to the teachings of history. We know that all "aliens" do not remain unchanged and unassimilated. Each of us can readily recall descendants of the third generation of aliens, and even of the second generation, who are as typical Americans as the Americans of the Revolutionary period. We also know that immigration has been going on since the Revolution and that the aliens have been gradually assimilated. It would be interesting to speculate as to what would have been

the development of this country if there had been no immigration after the Revolution.

But aside from this question, who are the Americans? At the time of the Revolution the population was about 3,000,000. Let us assume that these 3,000,000 people were all homogeneous. Are their descendants the only true Americans? Will it be contended that the millions of aliens who came over subsequent to the Revolution, and their descendants, have not been assimilated; that they are practically unchanged? If so, who are they and to what period of time after the Revolution is their mentality to be attributed? In other words, if the process of assimilation went on during any time after the Revolution, what was the period of time? If it stopped at some time after the Revolution, when did it stop? Or, to express the idea another way, when did aliens become incapable of assimilating American principles and ideals? Was it at the time when the aliens came over in large numbers? Does the quantity of aliens render them incapable of being assimilated? I can understand that a longer period of time would be required for the assimilation of very large masses of aliens, but I do not understand how large masses, *qua* masses, would stop the process of assimilation. Will it be maintained that the incapacity of aliens to assimilate American principles and ideals is limited to aliens of a particular race or country? Assimilation in such instances may be slower, but it is not impossible. The history of our own country and the history, both ancient and modern, of other countries, refutes the contention that aliens and their descendants are incapable of being assimilated, that they remain unchanged, subconsciously influenced by their former foreign customs and ideals.

#### ASSIMILATION INEVITABLE

In instances analogous to the process now going on in America, history shows that incoming races have always adapted themselves to the established civilization of the dominant race. American civilization does not contain so many complexities and is not so radically differ-

ent from the civilization of the various European races that European immigrants cannot assimilate it. It may be difficult for the newcomers from some of the European countries to adjust themselves to American ideals and standards, but generally the second generation will be well advanced toward Americanism, and the third generation will be typical Americans. I am speaking now of European emigrants. I cannot understand on what theory the argument is based that European aliens are incapable of performing this adjustment. If examples of history are true as to uncivilized races, how can it be argued that the highly civilized races of Europe will remain "practically unchanged," and unable to adapt themselves to their new environment? In my opinion, they will inevitably adopt the principles and ideals of Americanism and will be gradually absorbed and assimilated. The political groups of foreign radicals are an exception; but they need cause no serious fear.

#### REAL DANGER FROM FANATICS

The greatest danger to the fundamental structure of our Government, in my opinion, arises not from our alien population, but from groups of "old-stock" Americans who are continually trying to impose by law undue restrictions on individual freedom. Conspicuous representatives of such groups are the Congressional lobbyists who specialize on censorship laws, and who work for the enactment of Sunday blue laws. These lobbyists represent the blue laws group. Closely allied is another group, equally objectionable and dangerous, which is now trying to prohibit the teaching of evolution. There is another group of citizens that is trying to destroy the fundamental structure of our Government by invading State rights with Congressional legislation. All these groups are of the "old-stock" Americans, not aliens. Every American who really wishes to work for the welfare and preservation of the Government of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln will combat the pernicious efforts of these various groups. There should be a vigorous, persistent, concerted effort on the

part of Americans to fight against every Government interference which encroaches upon the domain of private life; to maintain individualism and individual freedom; to rescue our Government from the control of organized energetic minorities, working as propagandists for special interests and classes; to oppose religious intolerance; to develop a strong, independent, self-reliant people. Individualism is what made our country great, and individualism will preserve our democratic form of government. National homogeneity, which some writers insist upon, is not to be desired at the sacrifice of individual initiative.

I have no fear of the future of our country. I see no serious dangers from supposed alien influences. I have implicit faith in the great mass of the people. Sometimes their indifference to public affairs is exasperating, but I have always found that when they become interested in a question and subject it to the white heat of discussion, they generally arrive at a correct solution. "Tolerance is learned in discussion," we quote Bagehot again, "and as history shows, is only so learned. In all customary societies bigotry is the ruling principle. \* \* \* If we know that a nation is capable of enduring continuous discussion we know that it is capable of practicing with equanimity continuous tolerance." Religious and racial prejudices cannot stand the test of rational debate.

I do not agree with those writers who maintain that there is something wrong with this country. The American nation is fundamentally sound. Whatever conditions may arise, whatever complications may appear, and whatever difficulties and dangers may present themselves, Americans, both the native born and those admitted to our national family by adoption, can be relied upon to meet with courage and justice whatever destiny may await them. They will preserve their civilization and social order for themselves and their descendants to the remotest generations, and they will do this, not by any new-fashioned, un-American, violent and extra-legal methods.



# Changing Conception of Government in America

By J. H. COBB

Eminent California lawyer, former Attorney General of Alaska and an authority on constitutional law

THE restrictive immigration policy of the United States, first definitely formulated seven years ago, appears in a new light with the passage of the Johnson bill, which marks a radical departure from America's traditional attitude on immigration. Prior to 1917, although we had passed the Chinese Exclusion laws, and had a "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan, we had consistently followed the policy of practically unrestricted immigration from Europe. In 1787, when government under the Constitution was launched, Americans looked upon the United States as "an asylum for the oppressed of all nations," and immigrants seeking such asylum were invited to come; there was also pressing need of more population for economic reasons, since we had wide tracts of unoccupied lands which could be made valuable only by settlement and cultivation. The acquisition of Louisiana and the vast territory which it then embodied greatly increased the need of more people. At that time, however, and for many years later we scarcely thought of immigration except in connection with natives of the British Isles and Western Europe, people almost entirely of our own race and blood, language and culture, who in a generation at most were so completely assimilated that they could not be distinguished from those of us whose ancestors had settled here a century or more before. Up to the close of the Civil War, with the exception of an influx of Germans following political troubles in their homeland in 1848, virtually all our immigrants were from the British Isles. Then came the era of our great indus-

trial development, and the demand rose for labor to mine our coal and iron, to build our railroads and factories and do the manifold work necessary to keep them going. The old sources of supply were inadequate to meet the new demand, and soon the great steamship lines, which were finding the transportation of immigrants a very profitable business, set their agents to combing Eastern and Southern Europe for steerage passengers. America was being invaded by millions of peoples entirely different in race, language, culture and political background and experience from the old American stock; furthermore, they differed radically in their standards of morals, living, education and the very texture of their thought.

This vast flood of immigration continued in an ever rising tide until checked by the outbreak of the World War in 1914. Congress foresaw that, with the return of peace, the interrupted stream would again flow in probably greater volume than ever. The problems already raised by this great invasion of alien-minded peoples, the feelings of nationalism aroused by the war, the belief that large blocks of our foreign population were disloyal during the conflict, all combined to bring about the law of 1917, limiting the number of eligible immigrants that would be admitted from any one country to 3 per cent. of the natives of that country resident in the United States as determined by the census of 1900. The Johnson bill limits the number of eligibles that will be admitted in any one year from any nation to 2 per cent. of the number of natives of that nation resident here, as determined by the cen-

sus of 1890, and excludes all aliens ineligible to citizenship. The total number of immigrants that will be admitted during any one year is 169,083, about  $11\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of our population. Of this total, Great Britain is allowed 62,658, or considerably more than a third. Another third will come from Germany and other Western European countries, while the quotas from Eastern and Southeastern Europe are quite negligible.

This complete reversal of the traditional American policy toward immigration, and the economic policies based thereon, is not only a new departure for us, but it is a policy peculiar to the United States. No other nation has ever been confronted with like conditions and the problems growing out of them, which excessive immigration imposed upon us; no other nation, therefore, has found it necessary to meet those conditions and problems with legislative restrictions. Though nearly, if not all, nations have laws excluding undesirable classes of immigrants, we stand alone in limiting the number of eligible immigrants that will be admitted from any source.

Nowhere in Europe, in South or Central America, in Canada, Australia or New Zealand is there any law limiting the total number of eligible immigrants that will be admitted, while in the last three mentioned countries there are laws encouraging such immigration.

#### A PLEA FOR THE CONSTITUTION

Whether this change in the sources and numbers of our immigrants during the last four or five decades, which has led to the reversal of our immigration policy, has had any effect upon the change in our conceptions of law and government is an interesting question. Certain it is that they coincide in time. Certain it is that the change in our attitude toward, and conception of government, looks away from the old American ideals and standards and toward the ideals and standards of Continental Europe. Certain it is that though we have always had a minority which at times has been somewhat restless under the limitations upon govern-

ment imposed by our written Constitution, at no time has this restlessness reached such proportions as during the period in which we have been receiving the bulk of our immigration from Continental Europe. So momentous a problem has this become that the American Bar Association, at its last annual meeting, appointed the week beginning Sept. 16, the anniversary of its birth, as Constitution Week. The association, which includes in its membership some of the ablest and wisest lawyers of any age or nation, feels that something should be done to meet the rising tide of criticism and condemnation which is undermining the very foundations of our supreme law, especially that clause which makes the Constitution "binding upon the Judges in every State." Every decision of our Supreme Court in recent years, holding unconstitutional some legislative act, communistic or socialistic in principle, and further extending governmental control over the private life and business of the citizen, has been assailed not only by the socialistic press, and many journals of reputation, but even by Senators of the United States. Furthermore, the proposal is being now discussed of another amendment depriving the Judges of the power of declaring legislative acts unconstitutional either entirely, or by less than a two-thirds or unanimous vote of the Court—a proposition which obviously means the entire repeal of the Constitution whenever a majority of a Legislature finds it a bar to some desired measure. In short, there appears to be a feeling abroad that constitutional limitations upon the powers of the Government are detrimental to "progress" and the public good; that the power of the Government should have no bounds set either in the extent or nature of its activities, except the will of a majority, however temporary that majority may be. This is a phenomenon of comparatively recent growth, and marks a profound change in the American condition of, and attitude toward government.

Our ancestors of a hundred and fifty years ago were imbued with a fierce and



passionate love of liberty mingled with a profound distrust of government. These feelings were the outgrowth of living traditions of the oppression their forebears had suffered before migrating to America. During the first seventy-five years of English colonization in America the Colonists were practically all fugitives from religious and civil tyranny in the homeland. Whether Puritan, Cavalier, Papist, Churchman, Quaker or Dissenter, they all had this in common: they had suffered oppression at the hands of Government, and they had migrated to these shores to escape that oppression. Furthermore, though the revolution of 1689 had finally established the supremacy of the English Parliament over the King, yet throughout the reigns of William III., of Anne, and the first two Georges, the Englishman at home enjoyed no such liberty as did his fellow-subject in America; for Parliament was not yet representative of the great mass of people, but only of a very limited class. The irresponsible rule of the King was succeeded by an almost equally irresponsible rule of an oligarchy; so that the later Colonists were, like their predecessors, composed chiefly of fugitives from oppression who were similarly animated by a love of personal liberty and a hatred of tyranny. Even the Colonists, however, were not without experience of some of the miseries that could be inflicted by government; for, although America was too distant and inaccessible for the enforcement of most of the oppressive laws still existing in England, the Colonies were grievously oppressed in one respect: between 1660 and 1774 no less than twenty-nine statutes were passed by the British Parliament curtailing the freedom of navigation and commerce, all aimed to benefit English trade at the expense of the Colonies. These laws aroused less resentment than they otherwise would have done, because their full weight was much lightened by the ease with which they were habitually broken and evaded. Americans thus learned their first lesson in the great truth, that evil and unpopular laws can be generally evaded with impunity—a lesson not yet

apparently forgotten, though few may recall the school in which it was first learned.

### THE FIRST AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Consideration of these developments of the Colonial period is imperative to an understanding of the temper of the Americans during and after the Revolution and of the conceptions of government held by them, which did so much to shape the American system of constitutional government. To a fervid love of liberty, born of suffering and kept alive by the experiences of the blessings of freedom, they added a jealous suspicion of all government, even of one founded upon the consent of the governed. Above all they were vigilant. Such slogans as "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" and "That government is best which governs the least," were but echoes of sentiment common to the whole people; and when George III. committed the folly of levying taxes upon them without their consent, the Colonies objected, because they saw in the principle involved the seeds of tyranny. As Otis said, "The right to take ten pounds implies the right to take a thousand," and such a right, once it was successfully asserted, placed every man's fortune at the disposal of the Government, and made him a slave. So, as Burke finely phrased it, "they anticipate the evil and \* \* \* sniff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze."

The evils inherent in a weak government such as was provided by the Articles of Confederation had been keenly felt and understood all through the War of the Revolution and during the years immediately following. But these evils, great as they were, were as nothing to the evils to be suffered under a government endowed with the capacity to tyrannize. The task then confronting the men who met to frame the Constitution was this: To establish a Federal Government strong enough to safeguard the nation but without power to oppress any State, or any citizen of any State. It was a new venture, which had never before been considered in the history of the world.

### THE SCOPE OF ADMINISTRATION

The instrument finally adopted by the convention and submitted to the States for ratification attempted a solution of this apparently insoluble problem. It established a government in which the supreme power was necessarily recognized as inherent in the people, which means, in practice, a majority; but so limited was the scope within which administrative power could be lawfully exercised that the Government could never be made the instrument of oppression, and was without capacity to deprive any citizen of those "inalienable rights" so eloquently asserted eleven years before in the Declaration of Independence. This Government was divided into three departments, the executive, legislative and judicial, each absolutely independent of the others, and each department, as well as the Government as a whole, could lawfully exercise only such powers as were expressly delegated to it in the Constitution. Great care was exercised in the distribution of power. The ideal manifestly in view was a government strong enough to protect the people from foreign aggression and internal violence and to enforce justice between man and man, its duties and privileges terminating with the performance of these functions. Every power delegated was accompanied by limitations upon its exercise. In the delegation of the legislative power especially was this jealousy of power manifest. In Section 8 of Article I. there are enumerated eighteen subjects over which power to legislate is granted, but in the next section there are enumerated eight distinct and separate limitations upon its exercise, all intended to safeguard the rights and liberties of the citizens. These rights and liberties of the citizens were likewise further safeguarded against the power of the State Governments, and, finally, these constitutional safeguards were declared binding upon the "Judges in every State," "anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding!"

The original Constitution, though severely limiting the powers of government, evoked a storm of protest and

objection at the time of publication. Patrick Henry and Edmund Randolph, among other able men of the period, opposed it as endangering the rights of the several States and the liberty of the citizens. Even the transcendent influence of Washington and the able defense made by the authors of the *Federalist* would not have secured ratification by the requisite nine States except for the general understanding and agreement, that the liberties deemed endangered should be still further safeguarded by amendments to be proposed by the first Congress.

These persuasions, however, finally carried the day, and nine States having ratified it, the Constitution was proclaimed Sept. 16, 1789. The first Congress, in accordance with the understanding mentioned, submitted ten amendments, which may rightly be, and indeed generally are, considered as part of the original Constitution. In them are gathered up, and restated and reaffirmed, every principle of liberty won by Englishmen through the centuries from Plantagenet, Angevin and Stuart Kings, with important additions drawn from the more recent experience of the colonies with the English crown. Every one of them is a limitation upon the power of the State or nation. Every one of them is a hedging in of the province of government, and a widening of the realm of life in which no government, no majority, however great, could interfere with the right of a free-man to lead his own life, seek his own happiness, undeterred and unafraid.

### A DUAL VIEW OF GOVERNMENT

Thus we see that our ancestors had two clear conceptions of government; first it was an instrumentality necessary for the protection of the liberties of the citizen from foreign aggression and from internal violence, and for the enforcement of justice between man and man: good and useful when limited to these functions, but dangerous and evil when it overstepped its proper bounds; secondly, an instrumentality under which government was conceived as existing for the benefit of the citizen, not the citizen for the benefit of the



Government. The broadest possible liberty of the citizen was the supreme end in view. This did not mean that the men of '76 were lawless—far from it; their distrust of the powers of government was limited to political laws enacted by the Government itself and regulating the relations of the citizen toward the Government. No such distrust and jealousy was felt toward the civil code, the common laws which were born of common need, or those regulating the conduct of the citizen toward other citizens. The dividing line, of course, is not always clear, but the conception was. All laws affecting religious belief or practice, all sumptuary laws, all laws, in short, which had for their object the control and shaping of the tastes, habits and pursuits of the people for their own good, or what the majority might think their own good, were deemed utterly inconsistent with true liberty.

This attitude toward government endured among the American people for nearly a hundred years, during which no other civilized people in all history had ever enjoyed so great a degree of personal liberty, or had been so little hampered in the activities of its private life. As a result, individual initiative, self-reliance, bold and aggressive enterprise had developed wonderfully. In almost a single generation the frontier was pushed beyond the Pacific shores and its last lines lingered only amid the Alaskan glaciers or along Alaska's great rivers.

#### THE TREND OF AMENDMENTS

During this period we amended the Constitution five times, in each case further limiting the power of Government. If, as in the case of the Fourteenth Amendment, the power of the Federal Government seemed to be enlarged, it was because it was necessary in order to limit the power of the States in favor of the liberty of the citizen. Governmental power over the rights of the individual was, as a whole, further restricted.

Then came the era of our great industrial expansion. Following the Civil War we rapidly changed from an agri-

cultural and rural people to a manufacturing and urban one. As a people we became absorbed in material development and the creation of wealth. Our increase in population and national power removed all fear of foreign aggression. Personal liberty, so long enjoyed, ceased to be thought of, or at least much stressed. The protective tariff had taught how government could be made to subserve the interests of business. The power over post roads had led to enormous grants of land and money to railroads and the sudden acquisition of many huge fortunes. The power over rivers and harbors and public buildings had led to the scandals of the "pork barrel" legislation. Though the powers of Government, as a whole, had never been constitutionally extended, its activities within the limits set had vastly increased. An ever wider and wider exercise of governmental power was being constantly demanded in the interest of this or that business, class or section, and defended and pushed on the new theory of "the greatest good to the greatest number," and by the assertion of a new right—the right of the majority to its own will, regardless of the rights or wishes of the minority. The old jealousy and fear of government were being forgotten by a new generation which knew not the causes for its former existence. If "eternal vigilance" was "the price of liberty," we were steadily refusing to pay the price.

Still other forces were at work in changing the traditional American attitude toward government. Envy of the possessors of great fortunes, condemnation—too often justified—of the means by which some of these fortunes were acquired, and fear of the power inherent in combinations of large capital to control basic industries, especially transportation and banking, led to more and yet more legislation tending to regulate and control the private business and life of the people. The temperance organizations, which had long sought to eradicate the evils of drunkenness by purely personal appeals to the individual, began, about the middle of the last century, to seek the same end through the

power of the Government and secured the first Prohibition law in Maine, an example followed in many other States before the close of the century. Advocates of many other reforms, such as the improvement of the conditions of labor, child welfare, protection of laboring women, and so forth, began to invoke the power of the State to attain their ends. The proponents of all this flood of new legislation found the constitutional limitations, both State and national, the principal bar in the way of an unending series of experiments in socialistic, communistic and reform laws, and thereupon began efforts to remove the bar. The trend toward enlargement of governmental power is fully illustrated by the last four amendments to the Federal Constitution.

The power of taxation granted under the original Constitution to Congress is so limited and circumscribed as to leave little room for its abuse; but when the first income tax law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court steps were at once taken to remove the bar. This led to the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment, which in a sense marks what appears to be the beginning of a new era in the development of the American system of constitutional government. The limitations in the original Constitution, as we have seen, were based upon love of personal liberty, a jealous fear of the power of Government, and a determination to keep governmental activities within strictly proper functions of Government and out of the private lives and activities of the people. Every amendment theretofore adopted had the same end in view. Here, however, for the first time, was an amendment for the sole purpose of enlarging the power of Government. It placed the income, and therefore the property of every citizen, at the absolute disposal of Congress. Even the limitation of equality in burdens imposed was removed, and the Government can and does impose these taxes so as to take a larger proportion of the incomes of the wealthy than of the poorer classes, but it has unlimited power to place the burden as it sees fit, and to make that burden

what it will. The Sixteenth Amendment was quickly followed by the Seventeenth, which, though it merely changed the manner of election of United States Senators from State Legislatures to popular vote, was nevertheless dictated by the same forces and tendencies. It was felt that a Senate elected by direct vote of the people would be more in sympathy with the new trend toward expansion of the powers and duties of the Government.

#### THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

In the meantime, the laws enforcing prohibition in the various States which had adopted that measure were not working satisfactorily to its advocates. This led to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, which extended the powers and duties of the Federal Government into the private lives of the people to a degree that would perhaps have been utterly unthinkable to the men who framed the original Constitution, and deprived the States of the greater part of their power over one of the most important subjects of police regulations. For though the States have "concurrent power" to enforce it, they can only aid the National Government, the laws of which, as passed by Congress, are necessarily supreme. The Eighteenth Amendment evidences, as no other single law does, the radical change that has taken place in our attitude toward, and our conception of, the real and proper purposes of Government; it indicates a dying out, if not the complete death, of our old love of personal liberty, and our old fear and jealousy of the powers of Government over the private lives of men.

Further evidence of the extent of this change is found in the vast number of more or less socialistic, communistic and reform laws, both State and national, enacted during the past two or three decades. Space permits reference to only a few of the striking ones. In North Dakota and Minnesota the State has gone into the banking business, the storing of grain and the supplying of oil; in Kansas it has assumed complete control over the relations of employer and employee; in Oregon, until recently



(this legislation was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in March, 1924) the citizen was denied the right to send his child to a school of his own choice, and the State had taken as complete control of the education of youth as ever it did in ancient Sparta; in Oklahoma it is a crime to teach evolution and one who believes in the truth of this purely scientific doctrine, now so generally accepted by the scientific world, cannot explain the grounds of his belief to an inquisitive youth without incurring the danger of going to jail. Similar laws were proposed in several other States, and in some of them narrowly escaped passage; in Texas and several other States innocent amusements, such as card playing (not gambling) are punishable as crimes; the Federal authority may take our money to any extent it pleases and spend it for purposes of which we heartily disapprove; we are in danger if we pay the fare of a woman friend across a State line. This list is only a beginning of the innumerable ways in which governmental power, State or national, now controls or attempts to control the private life and affairs of the people; furthermore wherever and whenever some legislative act is declared unconstitutional by our Supreme Court it is almost invariably followed by a bitter attack upon the Court, and a demand for another constitutional amendment still further widening the power of government. The demands following the decision in the Child

Labor law is a present instance of what is meant.

It is not within the scope of this paper either to praise or condemn the tendencies pointed out. It may be that the highly complex and specialized civilization of today can be safeguarded and further developed only by a governmental organization closely resembling that of the ants and bees, where the individual is completely lost in the life of the hive. It may be that Christianity has failed (many of our preachers undoubtedly think so), and that there is no hope for morals and decency in life, unless we fashion our legal code in the pattern of that of Mohammed. It may be that the beautiful dream of Washington and Jefferson, of Madison and Hamilton and Franklin, of a government under which personal liberty of the citizen could flourish beside laws securing peaceful order and equal justice, was but a nightmare born of the fever of war and hope long deferred. These points are not argued, but it may be said that if the American people really desire such a government they will soon have it. If, however, they do not desire such a government; if they do not believe that Christianity is a failure; if they do not believe that the only incentives to a moral and decent life are found in the fear of the policeman and the jail; if they still value liberty guarded by law; then in each week beginning Sept. 16 of each year they should note the direction of the road we are traveling, and the goal at which it ends.



# *The Inside Facts of the Mexican Revolution*

By Dr. E. J. DILLON

Correspondent of The London Daily Telegraph\*

THE Mexican Revolution, launched by December, 1923, under the leadership of Adolfo de la Huerta and virtually crushed by the Obregon Government by May, 1924, is to the chronicler the most baffling of all Mexican insurrections. Among the motives of its authors one seeks in vain for common-sense considerations, for attainable ends. It lacked even that ethico-rational element which makes all the difference between a political venture and a dastardly crime. Nor does the theory of intelligent egotism give us a satisfactory clue to its origin. The rebels, devoid of a watchword and a principle, seized upon the name of a leader—de la Huerta—and inscribed that on their banner. A good name, says an Arabic proverb, covers many crimes, but de la Huerta did not even have a good name; it had been taken from him both by his chief, President Obregon, and de la Huerta's North American colleague, Mr. Thomas Lamont.

In this revolution, however, the personal element, however defective, was everything. But the only cement capable of keeping together the heterogeneous elements of a rebellion in favor of a given person is loyalty to that person, whereas the dogma in the name of which these men were violating their solemn pledges and turning their arms against the Government was the negation of loyalty. They intrigued against each other from the outset, certain military chiefs openly repudiating the authority and leadership of de la Huerta, while he covertly laid traps for them. It is fair to say that if by any chance this olla podrida of disappointed ambitions and greedy desires had contrived to overturn the Constitutional Govern-

ment, the victors would have torn each other to pieces and let chaos loose on the ill-starred Mexican people.

From the political viewpoint there was no justification, not even a specious pretext, for violence and civil war. The Obregon Government was making headway against obstacles, both natural and artificial in nature. After years of civil strife and destructiveness the republic was fast convalescing. Commerce and industry were regaining their vitality. Foreign capital had begun to flow into the country so abundantly that the Government had to take measures to distribute it. Projects for the irrigation of fertile lands, for the drainage of rivers, the construction of international highways, the extension of railways, the creation of new national industries, the colonization of vast districts by experienced European husbandmen were being devised or in process of achievement. The work of raising the cultural standard of the people was moving apace. The law courts were being purged of their noxious elements. Peasant proprietorship had been engrafted and was being extended, portions of immense estates being divided up voluntarily or compulsorily among the neces-

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sitous. All the landed property belonging to the Government was split up and apportioned among the landless who were able and willing to till it. In a word, President Obregon had fulfilled his promises to the nation within the limits of the possible and was looking forward to delivering up his trust to his successor. Foreign peoples, convinced that the Mexican Ship of State was at last in the hands of a skillful pilot, had renewed relations with the Obregon Government and were vying with each other in the race for that kind of amity which brings in its train lucrative trade and commerce.

With these lights, it is true, contrasted deep shadows. Productivity was still considerably below the standard of normal times, of foreign countries and of national needs. Strikes were frequent and costly and often irrational. Señor de la Huerta, as Minister of Finance, had so mismanaged the public moneys that he had seriously jeopardized the credit of the republic, besides forfeiting his own, and the Federal Government was battling with impecuniosity. The Legislature was continually giving trouble and the wanton abuse of Parliamentary inviolability was becoming intolerable. Bribery and corruption were undermining certain branches of the Administration, despite the drastic measures adopted by the Central Government to root these abuses out.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS BRING CRISIS

Making due allowance for these and other noxious survivals, however, it is fair to say that Mexico was on the high road to peace and prosperity. It would, however, be too much to say that the horizon was wholly cloudless. The elections, which in many American republics are a disturbing factor, could not well be less than this in Mexico; but they bade fair to pass off without more than spasmodic outbreaks of violence, because all the political boons for the conquest of which revolutions had been planned and carried out in the past were already acquired by, and for, the people, who had but to assimilate them. But by way of making assurance doubly

sure, President Obregon took a precautionary measure which ought to have satisfied even the most rabid party agents. He selected as Home Secretary a gentleman whose name is known in the republic as the synonym of fairness and plain dealing. This exceptional citizen, Colunga by name, had been elected to the post of Governor of Guanajato by the two mutually hostile parties of the State—a phenomenon of rare occurrence and far-reaching significance. To Señor Colunga Obregon confided the home Government for the avowed purpose of seeing that each party received equal treatment from the Central authorities and that no favor or privilege be given to any.

But destiny works in subterranean gloom creating forces which, seemingly unrelated to each other, suddenly coalesce and produce unseen results. The entry of Señor de la Huerta into the race for the Presidency was one of these fateful factors. Widely, and for a while favorably, known in the republic, this former Minister of Finance (his resignation from the Cabinet occurred Sept. 24, 1923) had been shorn of his prestige by President Obregon, who publicly stigmatized him as a Minister of State who had deliberately sacrificed the interests of the community to his own ambitions. The circumstances which preceded and accompanied Señor de la Huerta's candidature were unfavorable to the man himself and augured ill of his venture. He did not descend into the arena of his own accord, but was pushed into it by unscrupulous plotters and professional gladiators, and he played throughout the sorry part of an unconscious tool. Over and over again he had assured the nation that he was resolved not to stand for the Presidency. To those who still insisted, he replied that he had announced his final utterance with all possible emphasis and would stand by that. He assured journalistic interviewers that he was a warm adherent of General Plutarco Calles (the candidate favored by Obregon and his Administration) whom he regarded as the most desirable candidate in the republic, and finally he exclaimed: "I will never become a problem for my country!"

Hardly had de la Huerta convinced the general public that he meant what he said when the wirepullers induced him to change his mind and oppose his own favorite candidate. No sooner had he thus crossed the Rubicon than the support of reactionaries from various parts of the republic was pressed upon him, and he accepted it unhesitatingly. At this stage the reactionaries, including oil men, merchants, wealthy landlords and Europeans who retained their respective nationalities, constituted the nucleus of his following.

#### WHEN CIVIL WAR WAS IMMINENT

One day a well-known General, opening his mind to me on the subject, told me that something in the nature of a civil war was in preparation. Election fever had brought on madness, he declared, and violence would speedily ensue. De la Huerta's friends, he added, were disinclined to trust their fortunes to peaceful elections, and would appeal to arms. A day or two later an intimate friend of de la Huerta called on me, and after warning me that the President was menaced by "a formidable, perhaps an inevitable, danger," because of his hostile attitude toward de la Huerta, urged me to go to the President and try to persuade him to modify this attitude for the sake of his own safety. I refused to undertake any formal mission, but mentioned this conversation in a guarded way to the President. His comment was as follows: "I know that there are restlessly ambitious spirits who would gladly rise up in arms against my Government on any specious pretext, but I am decided to give them none. After the elections there may be spurts of violence here and there, but only between the rival parties, and they will be local and transient." I had heard answers like that from several heads of Governments on the eve of revolutions, including President Carranza before his own deposition and death, but I felt that Obregon was master of the situation, though I also knew that he was about to be basely betrayed.

The drama unrolled swiftly. The director of de la Huerta's electoral campaign was a mercurial youth of lawless

propensities named Jorge Prieto Laurens, who, being a deputy and a State Governor, regarded himself as a superman and behaved as though the republic and all it contained were potter's clay. His master scheme was to complain that the precious lives of himself and his comrades being insufficiently secure in the Federal district, he, the Legislature, the Administration and the President should all move away into the State where he as Governor was czarlet. One object of this move was to draw the President into the electoral maelstrom, for the Parliamentary minority that rallied round Calles would have protested against the removal and refused to go. Obregon, however, kept his head and his temper, whereas Laurens overreached himself. He insulted the President publicly in a way that would not have been tolerated outside of Mexico, then in conjunction with de la Huerta he fled to Vera Cruz and unfurled the flag of rebellion under the aegis of General Guadalupe Sanchez, Chief of Military Operations in that State.

The movement had been carefully thought out and perfidiously prepared. Money and arms had been collected without difficulty and so abundantly that the conspirators had no misgivings on this score. To what extent, if any, the sources of this abundance lay in the United States is still a question. Several sections of the army had been systematically disaffected and awaited only the signal to rebel. The Mexican consular and diplomatic bodies in various countries, especially in Germany, had been diligently plied by the plotters until they were tainted with disloyalty, ready at a moment's notice to seize on all available funds and devote them to the insurrection or to their own personal needs.

#### LEADERS OF REVOLT—DE LA HUERTA

As the de la Huerta rebellion was built up wholly around personalities, it is historically important for the correct understanding of the significance of the movement to record the antecedents and personal characteristics of its leaders. De la Huerta himself, whose precipitation of the conflict I have already de-



scribed, was, for a brief while, the rebellion's chief figurehead. As he had for a few years worn the halo of financier, statesman and patriot, the plotters decided to lure him into their net and to make the most of his titles to public esteem and confidence, which seemed considerable. Some years before he had been elected Governor of the State of Sonora, and in that capacity had seemingly played a considerable part in the revolutionary movement which upset the Carranza régime. Written history, indeed, described him as having argued with that President, disobeyed him, defied him, combated him and at last helped to end his rule. The good impression thus made was confirmed and intensified when, after Carranza's death, he was raised to the dignity of Provisional President of the republic. His principal feat while in this office was to bribe, at the nation's cost, the notorious Pancho Villa, the scourge of Mexico and one of the world's most fiendish criminals, to abstain from wantonly destroying life and property. After this and during the first three years of Obregon's Presidency, de la Huerta discharged the functions of Finance Minister and concluded the celebrated convention with the International Committee of Bankers. Not a word of criticism, nothing but superlative praise had been heard in the accounts published of this part of his work, which seemed for a while another triumph of statecraft and genius. And when, like a bolt from the blue, the charges of gross maladministration made against him by Señor Pani, and the support of these charges by President Obregon, held up de la Huerta to public obloquy, people asked themselves how a man with such a high record could overnight have fallen so low. De la Huerta's friends attributed the charges against him to envy, but facts were soon revealed which exploded this theory.

The final solution of the riddle is this: Throughout his public career de la Huerta has never been other than a vain, giddy, passive individual, a mere man of straw, who owed his success to his having found himself in the company and under the influence of men of prin-

ciple and strong will who used him for purposes which happened to be humanitarian and constructive. As soon as he parted company with these he fell among other types of human beings who kneaded him after their own hearts and the transformation was complete. Thus as Governor of Sonora he was but the stalking horse of General Calles, who had him raised to that post because, having himself struck out a Socialist policy in that State, he was desirous of insuring its continuation and required a pliant successor. De la Huerta's apparently dignified attitude as Governor toward President Carranza was also the outcome of a friendly legend. As a matter of sober fact his behavior was at first vacillating and then faint-hearted. At the most critical moment he was for crossing the frontier and lying low in the United States until the storm blew over. To systematic resistance he was entirely averse. It was General Calles who again forced him to put a bold face on the matter and challenge Carranza. Thus goaded into revolutionary activity, de la Huerta had to do as he was told and was duly pitchforked into fame and power as a consequence, for the immediate guerdon for these acts of obedience was the Provisional Presidency of the republic, which he owed entirely to General Obregon and General Calles.

De la Huerta's appointment to the Finance Ministry was but another of the many forms in which President Obregon showed his friendship for and his confidence in his plastic follower. It certainly stood in no relationship to the qualifications of the new Minister, who had had but a few years' apprenticeship in a provincial branch of a Mexican bank and was wholly unfamiliar with national finance. To me it came as a surprise and I voiced my feelings about this and another Cabinet appointment in the irreverent observation that President Obregon was imitating the Deity and creating his first men out of dust. But the President remarked to me: "De la Huerta is a man of immaculate honor, incapable of swerving by a hair's breadth from rectitude. Inspired by high moral ideals, he will work incessantly until he has mastered the ins and

outs of his task. What more can one ask for?" What indeed? But what if such a man's idealism be but the virtue of inexperience? It has since turned out to be this and nothing more.

When representing his country in the United States and negotiating with the Committee of International Bankers, de la Huerta seemed to have developed a new personality. He had become the very incarnation of vanity and ambition, from which a little self-knowledge might have preserved him. In his messages from New York he referred to his task as almost superhuman, characterized his efforts as titanic, adopted now a dictatorial, now a peevish tone toward his chief and even took sides with the bankers against the Mexican Government. When his mission terminated he insisted on meeting President Harding and demanded from President Obregon an escort of a hundred soldiers to await him at the frontier and give him a sort of triumphal welcome home.

During those critical weeks the affection of President Obregon for de la Huerta cooled considerably and his estimate of the latter's character also underwent a change. When, one day, a telegram arrived from Mr. Thomas Lamont accusing the Mexican Finance Minister of deliberate bad faith on grounds which it was impossible to rebut, the scales of friendship fell from Obregon's eyes, though as yet he discerned only that and nothing more. Nor was it until de la Huerta had given up his post in order to stand as a candidate for the Presidency that a series of grave abuses were detected by his successor, Señor Pani, whose report was tantamount to a charge of systematic mismanagement of the public funds for purposes unavowed.

#### DE LA HUERTA'S DUPLICITY

Thereupon de la Huerta's proper sphere of action was revealed as the realm of propaganda and of all that propaganda implies. In this domain he had no Mexican rival. His methods were those of the European belligerents during the World War, perfected, intensified and adapted to his fellow-countrymen. Certain letters of his to friends—

letters now passing from hand to hand—exhorting and tempting them to betray their trust and plunge the country into bloodshed and chaos for his sake reveal a frame of mind that perplexes the psychologist. One of those epistles directed at the outset of the rebellion to General Francisco Manzo, is doubly curious as showing de la Huerta's burning zeal to make a traitor of his friend and his fear of treason against himself on the part of certain associates of his whom he openly treated as trusted comrades. Fellowship in treason is bad cement. The text of this letter is as follows:

My esteemed Panzon:

Your star is here, whereas you yourself are moving in the opposite direction. You ought not to let yourself be driven by the storm-wind of disrepute and discredit which is now uprooting the Government. That Government is betraying our democratic institutions and flouting the fundamental principle of the revolution which, ever since 1910, has been proclaiming effective suffrage. \* \* \* It behooves you to come to a decision in our favor, seeing that at heart you are already with us. We need your cooperation and the way in which it should be given is this: On our entry into Mexico City, which is due to take place in a few days,\* all manner of evil-minded persons as well as base-born ambitions are sure to be unleashed. It is of the utmost moment to us that we should absolutely control the situation both in the capital and in the rest of the republic. In spite of the fact that General Sanchez's armies are positively formidable, by way of avoiding differences with certain other chiefs whose names I will confide to you on my entry into Mexico City, I want you to hold the capital well in hand, isolating Serrano [the War Minister], should you fail to talk him over, and likewise Arnulfo Gomez [commander of the Federal garrison].

If you decide to do as I ask you, then please dispatch Arnulfo Gomez on some errand or other to General Obregon, making believe in a (forged)† telegram that it is the President who is sending for him, or else dispatch him to Tampico on any pretext you like. You yourself take over at once the administration of the Valley of Mexico, or else appoint provisionally some one who has your entire confidence and then get into immediate touch with us. As it is highly probable that Serrano will not yield to reason and justice, it will be an easy matter for you to shelve him by making him dead drunk and then shutting him up in some house or other and keeping him in safe custody. Try to effect this as soon as you can, for it is my belief that General Obregon is not fated to return to Mexico City, as I feel sure that his own troops will leave him in the lurch." \* \* \*

Our movement as yet is but eight days old, but note, Panzon, that the Obregon régime is already collapsing with greater rapidity than that of Carranza. For public opinion crushes everything, destroys

\*De la Huerta's mentors had convinced him that the immediate success of the rising was a foregone conclusion.

†This word is not in the Spanish text, but that is obviously the meaning.



armies, sweeps away obstacles, conquers consciences, and only a blockhead, an idiot, would dare to oppose the causes which are backed by a people. \* \* \* Come to our camp, which is the camp of honor, of justice and of reason. Come to our side in order that I may name you General of Division of the army which, unquestionably, in a very few days, will consolidate its triumph throughout the entire republic.\*

What a variety of motives! Command of the troops of the Valley of Mexico, promotion to be General of Division, the certainty that Obregon's star would set forever in a very few days, and above all: "Come to our camp, which is the camp of honor"! all uttered by the man who in the same letter exhorts his correspondent to forge a telegram, deceive one friend and paralyze another by making him dead drunk and then kidnapping him. Truly a curious preamble to the moral regeneration of a nation! Other communications equally remarkable and characteristic, in one case involving deliberate falsehood, might be cited.

Before these facts of propaganda became known, the chief of the garrison, General Gomez, had written de la Huerta, on Dec. 9, 1923, a scathing letter, the following passages of which are worth quoting:

I note that you persist in hypocrasies and falsehoods in the belief that you will thereby attract partisans to your ill-judged venture. \* \* \* Remember the oath which in the Ministry of Finances you swore to me by your children that you would never take part in the politics of the country, and remember that you authorized me to spit in your face if you should prove false to your vow. I regret that I cannot do so, because you are incapable of awaiting and meeting me face to face. Victoriano Huerta was more acceptable than you are, for whereas he betrayed his enemies, you have betrayed the revolution and your friends, and this stain will be borne by your descendants.

The people to whom these doings became known revised their former estimate of de la Huerta. Many other charges have since been brought up against him. It is affirmed that while in the Ministry of Finances he created many well-paid sinecures, wholly superfluous posts and missions in order to accommodate partisans or convert enemies to his still-unborn cause. After the revolution and during the time that he and his confederates were in possession of Vera Cruz, they abstracted more

than 3,500,000 Mexican dollars from the tax office, the Finance Department and the Administration of Customs.\* "Forced loans," which is a euphemism for robbery, became one of the principal sources whence their friends and fellow-ers drew their public revenues and private supplies.

Such was the man who insisted on playing the part of Moses to the Mexican people and who deemed himself so eminently worthy of the office that in order to attain it he sacrificed the lives of thousands of his countrymen, destroyed much of the people's substance and set back his fatherland a whole generation.

#### RAFAEL ZUBARAN CAPMANY

After de la Huerta, Rafael Zubarán Capmany, a sharp lawyer from Campeachy, who was proclaimed temporary head of the revolt, with an implied claim to the provisional Presidency of the republic, should the dreams of the ringleaders come true, is one of the most interesting and human figures in the gallery of rebels. He was endowed with a degree of personal magnetism hardly inferior to that of the famous Russian Rasputin and of a kind which it is almost impossible to resist. His sunny disposition, winsome smile, musical voice, dreamy eyes and affectionate manner, made him a general favorite. It was no secret, however, that this thinly burnished surface of fellow-feeling and sentimentality screened pleasingly a cool, prudential and calculating temper, which seldom allowed abstract principles, whatever their nature, to endanger the success of personal ventures, and in his case, through all those ventures, one discerns the "auri sacra fames." As a lawyer Zubarán is keen, clinging, leech-like, while as a comrade, friend or acquaintance, he is irresistibly fascinating. Everybody succumbs to his charm. That seasoned warrior, President Obregon, who cannot be described as romantic, was no exception, and even after he had recognized Zubarán as a dangerous political

\*Dated Vera Cruz, Dec. 14, 1923.

\*Excelsior, March 12, 1924.

enemy, he continued to treat him as an intimate personal friend and to lavish favors upon him. It was because of a personal quarrel with Carranza rather than any higher consideration that Capmany went over to the side of Obregon. The latter, on his accession to the Presidency, conferred on this charming companion the post of Minister of Commerce, together with his absolute confidence. Though the new Minister had to be dismissed subsequently because of the indiscretion of a brother, member of the Opposition party in Congress, President Obregon, who is a faithful and a sincere friend, admitted Zubarán to his intimacy as before, only to be repaid with the basest ingratitude. One delightful sunny day, a few weeks before the outbreak of the rebellion, I was on a visit to the President at his temporary residence in the State of Jalisco, on the shore of Lake Chapala. Rafael Zubarán, who was also his guest, walked up and down with him for hours in the garden earnestly discussing petroleum legislation, and I contemplated the features of the two friends with unusual interest, because I had more than a presentiment of the terrible wrench that was coming. Some three weeks later Zubarán, meeting one night one of the President's secretaries at a fashionable restaurant, gleefully foretold Obregon's coming collapse, and added: "Carranza on his flight from the capital got as far as Tlaxcalantongo before fate and death overtook him. But Obregon will not even reach Guadalupe.\* He and his Cabinet are doomed."

#### GENERAL GUADALUPE SANCHEZ

No less perfidious was General Guadalupe Sanchez. This military leader enjoyed the reputation of a brilliant cavalry officer, but in strategy he showed himself to be below the average, while his cultural attainments were notoriously those of a semi-educated Indian. Taciturnity was one of his chief characteristics and his greatest asset. Had he been judged by his acts instead of by his economy of speech, he would

not have been made chief of the military operations in the State of Vera Cruz by President Obregon. Sanchez had basely betrayed President Carranza, breaking his habitual silence in order to assure him of his staunch fidelity. For some months before rebelling, Sanchez made elaborate preparations for the rising, and when publicly accused of this prospective treason to his chief, he denied it solemnly and protested his loyalty with as much emphasis and perfidy as he had used a few years before toward President Carranza.

#### GENERAL ENRIQUE ESTRADA

The career of General Estrada, another prominent leader, is also typical. From the military viewpoint Estrada is a self-made man. He never graduated from a military academy and owes much of his prestige to his uniform and grade; from the ethical and psychological standpoints he may be described as one of the primordials. Estrada was at first War Minister in Obregon's Cabinet. After having been relieved of that post, he was about to take over the Ministry of Agriculture when he suddenly announced that he would reverse the agrarian policy which had been followed theretofore respecting the allotment of lands. On learning this, General Obregon canceled the nomination, but remained personally on a very friendly footing with his ex-Minister.

Although a man of considerable means, General Estrada applied for various lucrative concessions and had many interviews on such matters with de la Huerta, then Finance Minister. He had recently become engaged to be married and to cover the expense of his wedding he requested de la Huerta to obtain for him 20,000 pesos, whether as a loan or a present I am unable to say. Obregon, learning that the money had not yet been paid, wrote a letter to Estrada, asking him to pardon de la Huerta's oversight, which he promised to have corrected forthwith. The amount was accordingly remitted to the General.

Estrada's visits to El Fuerte, where Obregon was recuperating last Autumn, were frequent. At least twice a week he would repair thither and put up at

\*A town distant some twenty-five miles from the capital.



the President's house, occupying the best room there and the head of the table at meals. He would always arrive and depart in a special railway carriage. His protestations of loyalty during those intimate talks with the President were impressive, emphatic and seemed to proceed from the heart. I was a guest at El Fuerte during the last of those visits, witnessed the cordial welcome given Estrada—we were both treated as members of the family—heard some of his honeyed words and wondered. When I was returning to the capital, Estrada and I traveled together in a special carriage. A few weeks later, when the newspapers announced that he was one of the leaders of the rebellion, I could hardly believe it.

Estrada's treachery, indeed, is beyond characterization. After receiving from the State Treasury, through Obregon's intervention, the money he needed to cover the costs of his wedding and the President's promise to act as his best man, Estrada rushed away, unfurled the flag of rebellion and declared open war on the Administration.

President Obregon's open letter to this caballero is worth reading as a model of moderation and a measure of the chasm that separates the two types. It embodies an expostulation which even a remnant of a conscience on the part of the addressee would turn into coals of fire, but which is too refined and dignified to make an impression on Estrada. Having described the pains taken by that General to put his private friendship and political loyalty above suspicion, the President goes on to say: "When an independent journalist gave out that a military conspiracy was being prepared in the State of Jalisco and mentioned certain troops under your command as disaffected, I indignantly denied in the press what I then regarded as a calumny."

Life among men of this category, who are always young enough to commit misdemeanors against the nation and never old enough to repent, is interesting, stimulating and precarious, but it unsettles one's judgment of men. Here was the Chief of the republic taking a

rest cure in the State of Jalisco, entertaining an intimate military friend, defending with vigor and warmth that friend's reputation, and liable at any moment to be assailed, kidnapped or killed by the troops which he had confided to that perfidious "friend," a curious but hardly a desirable experience.

Other leaders of the rebellion, notably General Alvarado, General Maycotte and General Figueroa, present equally interesting studies in psychology and had equally lurid careers. General Salvador Alvarado occupied several posts of responsibility. In Yucatan, where he ruled for years as an absolute dictator, he ruined industry and commerce, assailed religion and morality, stirred up civil strife and spread misery, from the effects of which the people are still suffering. Among his few friends de la Huerta occupied the first place. Alvarado's enmity to Obregon went back to the revolution following Madero's death. A plot to assassinate Obregon, it was revealed, was inspired by Alvarado in the State of Sonora, where the insurgents began their activities. On another occasion, in the same State, Alvarado signed an unfavorable armistice with the enemy, unknown to Obregon, his superior officer. Alvarado's morose and autocratic character won him the dislike both of his soldiers and of his brother officers. During the present rebellion he was arrested by his own subordinate, General Crispano Ansaldo, who placed him on a small steam launch with several of his followers and forced him to put out to sea. He reached eventually the Port of Acapulco, in the State of Guerrero, only to be driven away by his own rebel colleagues there. Personal dislike was stronger than political bonds, and the insurgents under General Figueroa expelled Alvarado and his group from Mexican territory. Alvarado was considered one of the most dangerous men of the revolution. Only a mutiny of his own officers and men prevented him, it is said, from destroying the magnificent railway bridge over the River Coat-zacoalcos.

Here also may be mentioned Gen-

eral Fortunado Maycotte, another primitive, another trusted friend of Obregon, who believed in him to such an extent that he chose him as one of the two immediate executors of his plan of campaign against the rebels. This was on Dec. 9. The next day the President started for the front. Maycotte saw him off and embraced him affectionately. Hardly had the train rolled out of the station when Maycotte drove to the War Office, collected ammunition and money, then, with a nucleus of retired Generals and other officers, started off on special trains and tore through the country like a whirlwind until he reached the city of Oaxaca, when he proclaimed his revolt against the "impious régime" of Obregon! From a military point of view Maycotte's treason was a stunning blow, which frustrated Obregon's plan of campaign, one part of which was to evacuate the city of Puebla, entice the rebels in and surround them. Maycotte took Puebla and precipitated a critical situation, which lasted until Puebla was occupied by the Federal troops.

Another grim survival of the days when deceit and betrayal were accepted as characteristic of military society, General Figueroa had already revolted in the State of Guerrero before the de la Huerta revolution was launched. Hard pressed by the Federal troops after perpetrating many excesses, he asked and obtained permission to surrender "unconditionally"—a curious arrangement in Mexico, which means reinstatement in the regular army and complete amnesty for murders, lootings and burnings; he also secured the use of a number of trains destined to carry his disbanded soldiers home. When the de la Huerta revolution broke out, Figueroa joined the insurgents, used the trains previously granted him against the Federal troops, attacked passenger trains and destroyed national property to his heart's content. Defeated by the Government troops, he despatched a letter filled with cool effrontery to the opposing General, declaring that his whole object had been the political amelioration of the country and of his own State, Guerrero, and that as that State was now

in excellent condition, he wished to lay down his arms, and therefore requested the President to send representatives to negotiate. The negative reply of President Obregon denounced Figueroa's treacherous mentality in the plainest terms.

A different type was the octogenarian General, Higinio Aguilar, whom I may mention briefly. Aguilar, who has been reported dead on the battlefield, had participated throughout sixty years in every revolution that had occurred in Mexico. He was a hardened old sinner, who resembled a resuscitated corpse, with his leathery waxen face and brightly gleaming eyes, but who could sit in the saddle all day without betraying signs of fatigue, and who reveled in dynamiting trains, looting and killing, in all of which activities he showed a bestial and almost ghoulish ferocity.

Such were the prime movers of the recent Mexican revolution. Several of them stand for a humanity wholly alien to that with which we are familiar; unscrupulousness, self-contradiction and instability figuring among its chief characteristics. In the curious interplay of motive and action, of which they offer such lucid illustrations, what we term the fixed outlines of human character fade before our eyes and vanish, leaving us face to face with a psychological mystery. At the same time it cannot be gainsaid that here and there we come upon a streak of the heroic in the wild, unmotivated outbursts, the prompt sacrifice of friends, of honor, of life itself, for the merest will o' the wisp. Some of those men, when captured and summarily tried, went to their death, as indeed they had fought, like heroes.

#### OBREGON'S MAGNANIMITY

From start to finish, Obregon's attitude was worthy of the former revolutionary who risked everything to deliver his country from revolutions, worthy of the statesman who is striving to substitute morality for politics. He refused to believe those whom he considered his friends capable of basely betraying him until their betrayal had actually taken the form of rebellion, but



after that he refused to accept their words of honor or solemn promises. When conducting military operations he silenced personal feelings and behaved with rare magnanimity to the insurgents. Urged to employ poison gases against them, he negatived the suggestion peremptorily. No officer who surrendered was punished or tried. The deluded soldiers were fed, paid 10 pesos each and sent to their homes. During the rebellion the President governed the country without martial law or extraordinary facilities. Liberty of the press was allowed to degenerate into license. Scurrilous attacks on himself and his Government were ignored. Announcements that the rebels were triumphing everywhere and that they already were at the gates of the capital were tolerated. Mme. de la Huerta, the wife of Obregon's whilom friend and present enemy, he treated with the utmost consideration. He had all her money paid to her by the Monetary Commission, gave her a special train to take herself and children to the United States, and sent an aide-de-camp to accompany and look after them.

Owing mainly to Obregon's example, the spirit in which the struggle went forward was much less cruel, even among the insurgents, than at any other period of Mexican history. The odious "ley fuga" (law of flight), by which obnoxious political enemies were shot on the pretext that they had attempted to flee, was never once applied. No act of vengeance on the part of the Federal troops was committed. The rebels were less disciplined. They murdered the Governor of Yucatan, Felipe Carrillo, and his brothers, dynamited trains and killed many unarmed people, raised forced loans, kidnapped private individuals and perpetrated other lawless acts. But even they were less savage than had been their predecessors who fought under Pascual Orozco or Pancho Villa. They seemed to feel that in Mexico an organ of corrective criticism, in fact, a deterrent in the shape of public opinion, was coming into being, that it was inclined to favor morality and condemn brutality and that it could not be ignored with impunity, and consciousness

of this new factor brought forth good results. The Chairman of the Southern Pacific Executive Committee stated that work on the Southern Pacific of Mexico had gone on quite as well after the rebellion had started as before. From the 3,000 Americans who are working for that company no complaint has been heard of military hindrance from either side. Thus public opinion has begun to purify the political atmosphere of the republic, and this is one of the more interesting aspects of the rebellion. Another is the confidence shown in the stability of the Obregon régime by most foreign countries, and in especial by the people of the United States. The business men there, bankers, capitalists and others, went on with their enterprises and projects as before, never doubting that rebellion would soon be quashed in spite of the alarmist and mendacious telegrams published in the principal newspapers of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston and New York. The Obregon régime has made a good name for itself and enjoys a degree of moral credit abroad which no other Government has possessed since Porfirio Diaz.

#### EXPLANATION OF HUERTIST SYMPATHIES

One curious phenomenon of the revolution was the moral sympathy which de la Huerta, both as Presidential candidate and as rebel, received from the foreign colonies in Mexico and from the business community at large. The explanation is obvious: they looked on him as the champion of the conservatives or reactionaries. They were sick of strikes and agrarian disorders and other hindrances to trade and commerce and they expected that he and his reactionary friends would put an end to this condition of affairs. Significant is the fact that the three military leaders, Generals Estrada, Sanchez and Maycotte, as soon as they rose in arms, issued a manifesto declaring military rule and the suspension of constitutional Government for four years; reactionary programs could go no further!

Among the aiders of the rebellion President Obregon includes many of the employes of the Aguila Petroleum Com-

pany in various parts of the republic. He received information that the Aguila had supplied the rebels with steamers, launches, money and other support. All these reactionary elements accepted the victory of de la Huerta as a matter of course. The confidence of the rebels was equally unbounded. Bankers told me that the Government's days were numbered. Consuls foretold de la Huerta's solemn entry into the capital in a few days. Only when all hope of this was lost and the failure of the rebellion became a certainty did all these elements recover a sense of reality. An attempt of the Chambers of Commerce to intervene and negotiate peace with the rebels drew a stinging rejoinder from the President. Why, he asked, had the Chambers of Commerce, now so anxious for peace, done nothing to preserve peace when the rebellion was first announced, nor protested against the infamous assassinations perpetrated by the rebels, such as the murder of Felipe Carrillo and his three brothers in the State of Yucatan? When the Chambers of Commerce renewed their request the reply of the

President was even more explicit and categorical.

Such was the head of the Mexican State, the man who preserved that State from destruction by a formidable rebellion. What General Obregon accomplished during this campaign, as also during his tenure of office, will long be remembered by his fellow-citizens who are rapidly coming to realize his specific worth. I, who had the privilege of traveling with him during the rebellion and watching him issue orders, dictate letters and telegrams at every hour of the day and the night and with marvelous serenity, can but say that my estimate of the man, published before he became President, has been amply confirmed by his public policy and private conduct and needs not the slightest modification.

As for the rebels, a few of them might have been useful to their country in a humdrum way had they confined their opposition to constitutional methods, but with a marble staircase before them, they preferred a rotten rope ladder. Thanks to General Obregon, the era of Mexican revolutions is over.





# Indians of Ecuador Threatened With Extinction

By H. S. DICKEY

A resident of Ecuador

THE recent alarming increase in the practice of head-hunting among the Indians of Ecuador, and which, it is feared, may result in the extinction of the savage tribes, has again focused attention upon this small Latin-American republic of only a million and a half inhabitants, which lies on the Pacific Coast of South America.

The Indians, whose colorful life and quaint customs contribute much to the native charm of Ecuador, have been ravaged by an epidemic of tribal wars. These broke out early in the Spring, and the proclivities of the head-hunters have taken so heavy a toll in deaths that the Ecuadorian Government is now apprehensive for the future of the race. The Indian, who, it is estimated, constitutes three-fourths of the population, is an integral part of life in Ecuador. His personality lends its own color and vitality to the exotic Spanish influence which dominates the white civilization in the republic. Throughout the country the Indian constitutes an element of historic significance, an intelligent appreciation of which is essential to any understanding of Ecuadorian life.

This is particularly true of the Department of Oriente, which stretches along the foothills of the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes and lies deep in one of the least accessible and therefore one of the most picturesque regions of the republic. Probably the most remote of all settled territories in South America, Oriente has preserved its virgin beauty of centuries ago, and the life of the native inhabitants is as colorful and wild as the natural splendors amid which they roam. Partially mountainous and partially fertile plain, the department covers about 60 per cent. of

the total area of the republic, and is divided by five rivers which empty into the Amazon.

The entire white population of Oriente comprises 118 persons, who live in Tena, the capital; in Archidona and Napo, villages which take their names from near-by rivers, and at the frontier posts that mark the boundaries of Colombia and Peru; 14,800 Indians, divided into a score of tribes, which are scattered across thousands of miles of tropic plains, make up the remainder of the inhabitants.

Administrative power over the department is vested in a Governor, who is appointed by the President of the republic and resides at Tena. Each village also has its own chief of police, who has a force of several men. These, together with numerous former employees of the Government and their families, make up the white population.

## HEAD-HUNTING STILL PREVALENT

The Jivaro Indians, located near the Pastaza and Morona Rivers, and the Huambisis and Aguaruna tribes, who inhabit the banks of the Santiago, devote themselves to the doubtful art of mummifying human heads. Along the banks of the Aguarico, the river which forms part of the Colombian boundary line, the Orejones pass most of their time stretching their ears, which is effected by pushing wooden disks of gradually increased diameter through the lobes. This treatment continues until the lobes rest upon the shoulders of the "patient." These Indians are all "bad"; toil is unknown to them. According to the white folk, they are infidels. The docile and unkempt Yumbos, on the other hand, come in the category of "good" Indians;

they live in the vicinity of the Napo River and outnumber the aggregate of all the other tribes by ten to one. They raise rice, corn, beans, onions, yuca, sugar cane, pineapples, bananas, chickens and pigs, most of which go to feed the whites.

The Governor of Oriente draws a salary which, at the current rate of exchange, approximates \$75 a month. The chiefs of police receive \$25 and the policemen \$12.50. Small, very small, salaries, judged by modern standards. However, were it not for the white man's insistence upon wearing clothes, these officials could save nine-tenths of their pay, since, to paraphrase a well-known expression, it is the Indian who pays and pays. This reference pertains exclusively to the Yumbo Indian; "bad" Indians do not pay.

Several years ago, when rubber still could be worked at a profit, a number of citizens established a smoothly operating and efficient peonage system. The Yumbos found their wants readily supplied. All that was expected in return was a large quantity of rubber. The kindly whites passed out trade guns, calicoes, beads, white rum, Florida water, hair tonic, ribbons, talcum powder and other articles alluring to the savage heart—and wrote something in a book. The Indians brought in ten, twenty-five, fifty pounds of rubber—and the white men again wrote in the book. The prices paid by the Indians in this method of barter were fabulous, as rubber was selling sometimes at \$2 per pound. As invariably happens where peonage is the prevailing labor system, the necessities, real or imagined, of the workers soon exceeded their ability to produce. One cannot pay the equivalent of \$50 for a trade gun, \$10 for five yards of calico and \$5 for a two-ounce vial of Florida water with any great frequency and still show a balance on the credit side of the ledger, especially when his produce is being bought by the creditor at one-twentieth of its actual value.

After years of ill-paid toil the Yumbos found themselves confronted with a burden of crushing, discouraging debt; however, to give the Ecuadorian

rubber traders due credit, though they cheated the Indians in every possible way, the systematic cruelty in vogue in the Peruvian rubber country of the Putumayo was not practiced by them in Oriente. Isolated cases of ill-treatment of Indians there doubtless were, but crimes such as caused the horror-stricken eyes of the world to turn toward the Peruvian jungle were unknown.

#### PROFITEERING AS A FINE ART

The active practice of peonage in the Ecuadorian rubber country was short-lived; the shock of the Peruvian exposures made itself felt in Quito, where a law was passed abolishing the system. Gradually thereafter the rubber-hunting element disappeared from Oriente, and the only white people left were those connected, or formerly connected, with the Government. The change, however, brought only partial justice; the Yumbos had lost their masters, but the habit of fearing and obeying the white was too firmly fixed to be uprooted in a generation. As far back as any one could remember the Indians had been bringing their foodstuffs to the village markets every Thursday and Sunday; so now the childlike Yumbos, creatures of habit, continue to appear with their produce twice weekly on the plazas of Archidona, Tena and Napo, where they sell it at prices established ten years ago. I say sell it, but very little money actually changes hands in these transactions. The white man's methods are simple and profitable; he gives the Indian a yard of cloth, representing an actual value of 26 cents, in exchange for enough food to keep him and his family until next market day—and at the close of the transaction the Indian owes him money!

Dwellers in large cities, who complain of high prices, would indeed acclaim Oriente the land of heart's delight. Eggs here cost nominally 10 cents a dozen, which in United States currency would be 2½ cents, but since the producer receives merely a yard of cloth in exchange, this barter brings the cost of a dozen eggs down to 8 mills in American money. The price of one



egg could only be established by figuring in rubles. A person with a fixed income of \$25 a month can live comfortably in Oriente. Almost no one pays house rent; it is better to own your home. A five-room two-story house, such as I occupied in Tena for three months, costs 200 sucres (about \$45) to build. Ten Indians, each receiving 40 Ecuadorian cents a day, erected it in four weeks. Occupation is a more difficult problem. No white man works here; even the police are idle. Furthermore, there is no servant problem. The authorities "cede" one or two or more Indian boys for the housework; these lads are usually about 12 years of age, and they bring their wives, who are a little younger, to assist in the work. The village wash lady charges about a dollar a month for a good-sized washing.

The Indian boys are quite efficient as house attendants but their manners vary somewhat from those of the trained servant at home. It is not unusual for one of them to burst into the master's bedroom at dawn, smoking a four-inch cigarette, and the whole family gathers around to see one shave. Each servant works for one week and receives at the end of that time one yard of cloth, which is enough for a pair of trousers; this satisfies his wants, so he vacates and another takes his place; thus one has the privilege of training four sets of servants each month.

Oriente's possibilities in the way of amusement or instruction are varied and valuable. For the hunter there is an abundance of duck, turkey and deer shooting, with an occasional jaguar. To the student of ethnology the life of the Yumbos on their native heath is replete with interest. This tribe was conquered centuries ago by the Quichuas, who, under their Incas, ruled what is now Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. Except in language, the Yumbos retain little trace of the influence of their con-

querors. Students of the subject maintain that the Quichua they speak is purer than that of any other tribe. Pottery, however, is a lost art to them. The crude examples of plates, bowls and basins, produced by the old women of the tribe, resemble those that civilized children make of mud. The same lack of esthetic sense is manifested when they paint their faces, this famous ceremonial degenerating to a daub in their hands.

Each tribe of Yumbos is divided into numerous families, and each of these is governed nominally by a chief known as the "Guaynaro." Theoretically, the Guaynaro has power of life or death over his subjects. Actually, he is at the beck and call of the humblest white poleceman. The only time his sway is undisputed is when a young man from a neighboring tribe mates with a member of the Guaynaro's family. The suitor for the maiden's hand has first to present the Guaynaro with rare gifts, after which he must prostrate himself before the Guaynaro and recite a seven-hour discourse, in which all the Guaynaro's merits are set forth. The young woman then is informed of her impending nuptials and within a few days she is uni-



Map showing the position of Ecuador in its relation to neighboring South American republics

ted to the man who has chosen her. If she has objection, she keeps it to herself; any other course would be useless. She is eleven years old; it is time she had a husband. Old maids among the Yumbos cast an especial stigma upon a family.

The day then is set for the marriage ceremony. This ritual begins with a feast in which all the neighboring families take part. At dawn they gather around huge bowls of a nauseous concoction known as *chica*, which is a fermented and highly intoxicating drink made from the fruit of the *chonta* palm. While the drinking is going on the bride is being dressed. All her clothing is removed—a short process—and she is provided with a new skirt of blue cloth which reaches almost to her knees. Around her shoulders are tied two red *bandana* handkerchiefs and across her forehead a red ribbon. Thus attired and accompanied by the guests she goes to the house of the bridegroom, who is dressed in white knee trousers, with a *bandana* handkerchief tied about his neck. Together they proceed to the house of the *Guaynaro*, who officiates at the marriage. Hand in hand, they listen to the old man talk for several hours. When he tires, he dismisses them. This concludes the ceremony and the dance begins.

An infernal noise, produced by as many as twenty drums and the voices of perhaps a hundred Indians raised in a monotonous, doleful chant, marks the commencement of the performance. Then the voices are hushed and two lines are formed, one of men and one of women, with the bride in the centre. All stand for a minute facing each other; then, the women advance, the men recede; the men advance, the women recede. Thousands upon thousands of times this shuffling back and forth is repeated. Occasionally a dancer will drop out to refresh himself; at times one will fall to the ground exhausted; but the sturdiest manage to last out the whole affair, which continues throughout three days and three nights. The most stalwart Yumbo requires at least three weeks to recover from one of these functions.

The superstitions of the tribe are a fantastic mixture, the larger part of which is witchcraft. Years ago Spanish missionaries taught the Yumbos some of the elements of Christianity; the task was eventually abandoned, but certain ceremonies caught the imagination of the Indians, who mixed these with their own tribal rites. Witchcraft is believed by them to be the dominant factor in all their ills; each tribe possesses at least one individual who is held to personify the spirit of evil. So strong is this superstition that the Yumbos oppose all efforts on the part of the Ecuadorian Government to improve their condition. Many thousands died during an epidemic of smallpox in 1906, and the remainder hid in the forests, rather than submit to vaccination, which they held to be a defiance of the evil one. This belief in witchcraft, together with persistent epidemics of disease and general indulgence in intoxicants, are rapidly depleting the race: The Yumbos cannot survive much longer; soon they will cease their agricultural pursuits, in which event the whites will be compelled to go to work, move out, or die.

These, then, are the people who inhabit the beautiful Department of Oriente. Some day, perhaps, a new civilization will flourish on these plains and mountains. Sturdy sons of the North will mine the precious metals or raise coffee, vanilla, figs, bananas and four crops of corn a year. All this is possible, but better means of communication with the outside world must be established if these industries are ever to be developed.

Oriente, today, is virtually at the end of the earth; official maps of Ecuador show this department as reachable by railway, the line, however, was never completed and extends but twelve miles out of Ambato. Travelers are obliged to tramp scores of weary miles to reach Tena; the roads, so-called, are combinations of deep swamp, ravines, and trails clotted with fallen timber. Scarcely more accessible is Tena on the Atlantic side, the trip involving 2,000 miles by steamer up the Amazon, forty days by canoe, and then a six-kilometer walk.



# Forces of Disunion in Canada

By P. C. ARMSTRONG

Canadian publicist, contributor to the Canadian and British press on economic and political questions

WHEREAS the theory of government embodied in the United States Constitution leaves to the States of the Union all those powers not specifically lodged in the Federal Government, Canadian constitutional law, inherited from England, is based on the assumption that power proceeds from the Crown, and therefore explicitly denies to the Provinces rights more valid than those of a superior municipality. Yet, if the confederation of the British Provinces in North America is to continue, it must be by a road not leading to national standardization, but by the growth of a genuine confederation of somewhat diverse States, each enjoying and jealous of its local rights.

Looking at the map, one is impressed at once with a fact of profound significance, namely, that between the East and the West of the Dominion there lies a great mass of rock, of scrub pine, of muskeg and lake. The Mississippi Valley, the agricultural empire which weighs yearly more heavily in the affairs of the United States, is paralleled in Canada by a stretch of country, rich perhaps in mineral wealth, and not all beyond the hope of cultivation, but certainly not likely to act as an economic bridge for such a flow of homeseekers as passed many years ago from the Eastern United States by slow migrations to found the West. Thus, the settlement of the Canadian West has perforce been by artificially stimulated immigration, largely from European countries, or from the United States. These men and their children, if they know Canada east of the Great Lakes at all, know it as an unfamiliar landscape seen from train windows; they are patriotic, but the Canada of their dreams differs from the Canada of, for example, the lower St. Lawrence in

a degree not paralleled by any local difference which exists in the United States.

In both countries it is natural that the newer agrarian districts should think in terms of the market for their product. The wheat growers of Kansas and Iowa once talked just as bitterly of "Eastern financial tyranny" as do those of Saskatchewan, but their proportion to the whole population and the importance of their product to the commercial life of the country were never as great. It is safe to say that the very success of the Canadian West, by producing a somewhat exaggerated local pride, has tended to produce the most dangerous of the stresses which are straining Canadian unity, and which must be brought to equilibrium by skillful compromises if Canada is to be in truth a nation.

This division between a West too purely agrarian and an East too forgetful of agriculture is now at its height. From the Great Lakes to the Rockies every constituency has at Ottawa a representative committed to free trade, to the theory that domestic industry is of minor importance as compared with the export market for farm products, to membership in the Progressive Party, or in the very advanced Left Wing of Liberalism. Extravagant language and isolated incidents mean little, but more than one convention of Western farmers has gone on record as favoring secession from the Dominion, and leaders of opinion in the West toy very carelessly with notions of annexation to the United States or of an independent Western Dominion. It is difficult to appraise such talk at its true value, but the issue becomes more serious when we hear Brig. Gen. Paterson, a distinguished officer, warning the members of the Canadian Cabinet that the fail-



W. L. MACKENZIE KING  
Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada

ure to complete the Hudson Bay line—a probably chimerical panacea for unalterable geographical facts which make wheat haul to England costly—would be greeted by a wave of annexationist agitation.

Another factor in the situation is the National Railways. The old Grand Trunk, burdened, according to its apologists, with a system of Western lines created as a political manoeuvre, and the Canadian Northern, a railway created by men who were much inclined to a visionary disregard of economic facts, have both been taken over by the Dominion Government. In the East, which sees only their deficit in the annual budget, and is not so closely dependent on them for actual existence, there is apt to be much deprecation of the Western doctrine that cost is of no account; the railways must be operated at rates which will enable the Western farmer to accept the Liverpool price of wheat and still yield an automatic profit.

The solution of Western discontent most often suggested is wholesale addi-

tions to the population of grain growers by an active immigration campaign, a solution which is visibly failing in view of the fact that the world is at the moment only too well supplied with wheat, and that an increase in the population of London would help its producers more than one in the population of the prairies. Chiefly because of visible Conservative gains in the East, the present Liberal Cabinet is busily engaged in trying, by mild gestures in the direction of tariff reductions, to attract Western votes. On the other hand, so much of the present Liberal strength is drawn from convincingly protectionist constituencies in Quebec that it appears probable that the only result will be a more acute definition of national opinion along sectional lines.

West of the mountains which bound the prairies lies the Province of British Columbia, a community which was last to enter the Dominion, and which has always prided itself on a certain feeling of detachment, on a tendency to an English rather than an American mentality. At the moment it is one of the most prosperous sections of the country, as its seaboard tends to become more and more that through which will pass the exports of the territory at least as far east as Central Alberta. Its sole grievance is, that at the moment the system of freight rates is so arranged that wheat moves to Montreal at a much lower cost per ton-mile than to Vancouver. The railways reply to the charge, made a real issue by the untiring efforts of John Oliver, the blunt Englishman who is now Premier of the Province, by pointing to the higher operating costs of the mountain sections of the roads. Opinion in the Coast Province regards this very skeptically and is inclined to think that the railway officials are thinking merely of how to force grain into the channel that gives the longest haul. However this may be, British Columbia is assuredly inclined to build up an economic life of its own and to declare its commercial independence of Montreal and Toronto very much more rapidly than the Pacific Coast of the United States has grown away from the financial tutelage of New



York. In British Columbia; however, the current economic discontent has never been expressed even in words that could appear to support a separatist movement. None the less, it is probable that that Province will be always a force against a centralized nationalism.

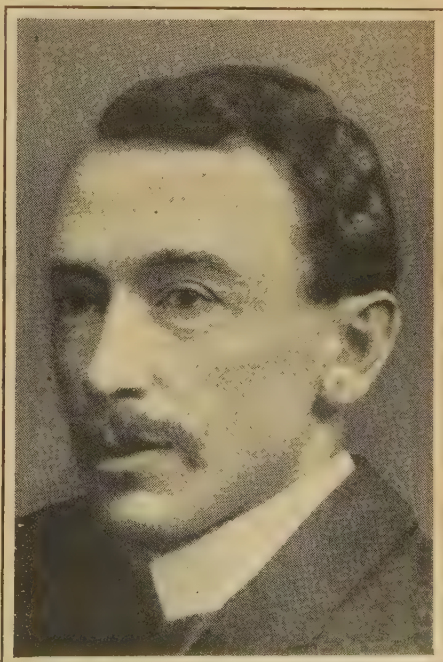
At the other end of the country lies the small group of the Maritime Provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. There old men still speak of Canada when referring to Ontario and Quebec. This is the New England of the Dominion—with a difference. Cheap food from richer virgin soils has lowered the prosperity of the countryside, and steam has driven the Bluenose clippers from the sea. Vast deposits of coal and iron would seem to give these Provinces an enormous advantage in a country which is none too rich in available deposits, but it must be remembered that the Canadian tariff system protects only manufactured goods, and scarcely assists the exploitation of sources of raw materials for the domestic market. Then, too, though New England was able to accept the destruction of her agricultural life with equanimity and to turn at once to manufacturing for the farmers of the West, the geographical contour of the Dominion makes the Maritime Provinces very distant from the thickly settled farm lands of Western Quebec and Ontario—so distant that, as a matter of fact, industrial development is confined to a group of coal and iron industries at present far from prosperous. In addition, the one great agricultural source of revenue, the export of potatoes to the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, was dried up by the Fordney tariff, so that the economic position of the Maritime Provinces has become serious.

How serious and well established is the condition of the Maritime Provinces may be gauged by the fact that in the past two decades, though the population of the Dominion as a whole increased from 5,300,000 to 8,750,000, that of the Maritime Provinces grew only from 900,000 to 990,000, and that of Prince Edward Island actually lost.

Not unnaturally, the result has been a wave of doubt of the success of Confederation. Even in the Provincial Legislatures the preaching of secession, of an independent union of Maritime Provinces, able to negotiate separately with the United States, has been direct and open. It is, of course, necessary to remember that party politics are not without their effect. For example, J. B. M. Baxter, one of the most brilliant of the Conservative leaders, used the wrongs of the seaboard and the undue indulgence of Western needs to win two recent by-elections against the Mackenzie King Government, although no one suspects Mr. Baxter of really being a secessionist. The situation is, however, critical, as shown by the steady emigration to the United States, which is estimated by competent authorities at from 100,000 to 200,000 per annum.

#### THE FRENCH CANADIANS

Though the separatist tendencies produced by economic conditions may



Keystone

LOUIS ALEXANDRE TASCHEREAU  
Premier of Quebec since October, 1921



CARDINAL BÉGIN  
Archbishop of Quebec

readily be overcome by the centripetal force which has been so fully illustrated in the history of the United States, we are confronted by a totally different question, which is largely social and political, in the case of the French Canadians, a people grossly misjudged by contemporary opinion. Their love for the soil has caused them to be regarded as a race of backward peasants. The fact that after the British conquest the seigneurial "noblesse" returned to France in large numbers left the leadership of the race in the hands of the priesthood, and thus the people became inarticulate in its relation to other races. Moreover, the natural inclination on the part of Anglo-Canadians to minimize the difficulty of creating a stable national type has produced a theory that patriotism must deny the power of the French race to persist.

Yet it is an undeniable fact that, taking North America as a whole, the French race, practically unassisted by immigration, has maintained its proportionate numbers and has greatly in-

creased the area in which it is preponderate in influence. The hills of the Eastern Townships, the district in which settled the Americans who refused to accept the Revolution, were once purely English-speaking. Today the French invasion has been carried to the point where the historic custom of leaving the finances of the Province to the direction of a non-Roman Catholic and an English-speaking treasurer is observed by the appointment of Jacob Nicol, a Protestant who speaks French as his native tongue. Eastern Ontario, Western Quebec, the settlements of the Highlanders, which once spoke Gaelic as the vernacular, are now almost solidly French. Throughout the new North of Ontario the French steadily increase in number. The large proportion of French Canadians in New England is a matter of common knowledge, as well as their quiet resistance to the processes of the melting pot.

No greater mistake could be made than to imagine that the French Canadians are losing their racial identity; even the fact that the Church to which the great majority of them belong—the Church of Rome—is well known for a tendency to disregard racial lines is less obvious in Canada than elsewhere. In Ontario, by reason of the somewhat aggressive Protestantism of the majority, and owing to the fact that education is a function of the Province, the famous Regulation 17, which the French characterize as intended to prohibit the teaching of their language, was promulgated primarily at the instance of the Irish Catholics—an interesting evidence of fear of French dominance even in the Church. Cardinal Bégin, the venerable Primate of Quebec, counts many non-French souls in his flock, but in a recent and widely noted pastoral attacking modern dancing and dress he freely referred to his wish to save the race, rather than the religious body, from contagion.

The use of the French language becomes more, instead of less, common from year to year and is spoken to an extent little understood by casual visitors, frequenters of the great cities, or



those who judge the race by the highly progressive younger business men who are inclined to deprecate the discussion of racial questions in talking with strangers. Despite this, the use of French and the campaign for the preservation of French characteristics are more strongly in evidence than ever, especially in the smaller towns and the country districts.

The distinguished son of a distinguished family who is now Premier of Quebec, and unofficially the leading exponent of French Canadian ideals, L. A. Taschereau, speaking recently before the Ontario Educational Conference, suggested that the solution of the language question in the Dominion lies in universal bilingualism, and offered to attempt an exchange of teachers. He reiterated what he has so often said, that French is and will ever be the speech of his people, and that French Canada will remain French in mentality.

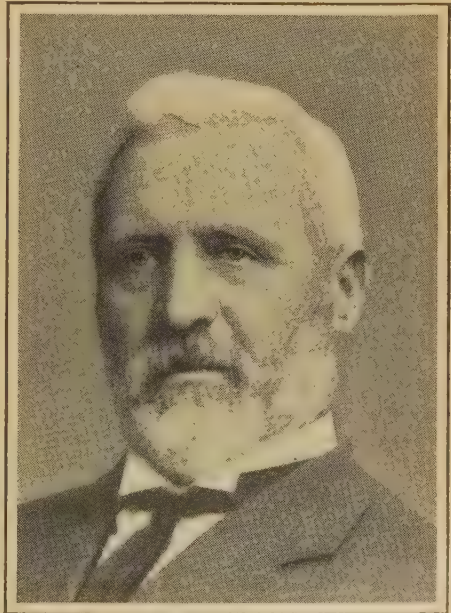
A curious misunderstanding of this position by Anglo-Canadians leads to much loose talk of "disloyalty." During the World War the illogical appeal was made to the French Canadian to fight for France. Actually, after admitting a certain sentimental tendency to fly the Tricolor, French Canada barely thinks of France. The French Canadian in his daily speech is a "Canadien," never a "Français"; he is autochthonous—a veritable son of the soil; Hémon's epical novel of "Maria Chapdelaine" does not exaggerate the theme of which it tells—the love of the people of Quebec for the Canada which they know and which has but faint resemblance to the Canada of the Western wheat plains, the "Daughter Nation" of which the British imperialists speak.

#### BOURASSA'S ATTITUDE

The attitude of the French Canadian to the Dominion, and to the Empire, is one extremely difficult to define. Perhaps the most authentic spokesman of it, because free from official bonds, and of a peculiarly independent spirit, is Henri Bourassa, the editor of *Le Devoir*. It is his belief that French Canada, in order to preserve its identity, must bat-

tle constantly both against the somewhat militant imperialism of some Anglo-Canadians and equally against the fervent nationalism of others. It is not an illogical attitude. It is conditioned by the knowledge that on the one hand French Canada can scarcely look for real national existence in a British dominion, and that on the other hand the tendency to create another and equally standardized United States of the North is dangerous to the extreme.

French Canada is not a conquered community. That is seen by a mere glance at the Treaty of Cession, and at the organic constitutional document, the British North America act, passed by the British Parliament. The special rights and privileges of the race are clearly defined; the union is a pact—a treaty, not a surrender. Still, the growing population of the West is almost wholly non-French, and in great numbers composed of newcomers; they are ever ready to speak of the need of one language, to suggest national schools, and on these two points, as the French well know, depends the whole future of the race.



JOHN OLIVER  
Premier of British Columbia

In the present Canadian House of Commons we find French Canadian members opposing any suggestion of assistance to Great Britain in her national defense, and on the other hand firmly and flatly voting down Mr. Woods-worth's ingenuous motion calling for a pronouncement to the effect that the Dominion Parliament is equal in power to that of Great Britain. As Premier Taschereau explained not long ago to some one who suggested the abolition of the Canadian right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, it will not at all suit the French Canadian to be too completely separated from the mother country, whose enactments and obligations furnish his charter of racial and linguistic separatism.

#### QUEBEC'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS

The economic question, as is natural in a country whose very existence is predicated on making traffic run east and west against a natural tendency to a north and south commerce, affects Quebec also. Chiefly owing to the nominal Liberalism of that stanch Conservative, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Quebec customarily votes for a Liberal administration, and did so more willingly than ever in 1921, owing to the accident that imposed the burden of war legislation on a Conservative Government. But, since the Prime Minister of the Dominion began to bargain for Western support and talk free trade, his Quebec supporters, who cannot benefit by such a policy, are in rebellion.

Quebec, with its 2,500,000 French-speaking people, stands out as a per-

petual obstacle to any program of close unification in Canada. As Premier Taschereau has put the case, Quebec gives way to no part of the Dominion in a patriotic desire to serve the national good, but French Canadians prefer to believe that that good is to be found in what he calls "unity in diversity"—by which he evidently implies some such form of nationalism tolerant of racial differences as exists in Belgium and Switzerland. The tendency, indeed, seems to be not in the direction of a close interknitting of the Canadian Provinces into one great and homogeneous whole, but rather toward the building up of a true confederation of somewhat diverse States, inclined to be somewhat jealous of local rights. On the other hand, it would be rash to assume that these divergences of interest between East and West, these differences of mentality between English and French speaking Canadians, these peculiar geographic obstacles to close unity, involve the failure of confederation. Selfish as local feeling often is, there is no doubt that over all there is a very genuine faith in and love for Canada. At the worst there is merely a difference which can be reconciled in the definition of the sort of Canada we are to build. The question of the success or failure of confederation is scarcely at issue. The point is rather this: Whether centralizing and standardizing influences have not been allowed a sway too complete for safety, and whether patriotism in Canada is not too much inclined—certainly in Anglo-Canada—to assume that to be a good Canadian one must be cut and fitted to a certain definite pattern.





# *The Demand for Secession in Canada's Maritime Provinces*

By WILLIAM J. McNULTY

American newspaper correspondent, editor and author, with an intimate knowledge of Eastern Canada

IT was not until the latter part of 1923 that disruption of the Dominion of Canada was even contemplated. When the confederation was founded in 1867 the Maritime Provinces, consisting of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, had been prosperous, because of their trade with New England, which provided an excellent market for lumber, fish, lime, vegetables, meats, native fruits and other products. Expectations of a more extensive market in the central and western sections of Canada converted the people of the Maritime Provinces to confederation because they were told that by agreeing to confederation into one dominion trading could be confined largely within the British Empire.

In 1923, however, depression seized the Maritime Provinces. The Fordney-McCumber tariff, passed by the United States Congress, struck a damaging blow at the fishing industry, and, in addition, the law forbidding the use of United States ports to British fishing vessels for provisioning and restocking, which, during the war period and for some years following, had not been enforced, was again put into operation. Since the Canadian market had never replaced that of the New England market, the adoption of the Fordney-McCumber tariff struck a blow at the very vitals of the Maritime Provinces, affecting every article of export. When the people of the Maritime Provinces began to look to the central and western Provinces, the result was extremely disappointing. To intensify the situation, instead of directing their exports to Europe through the Canadian ports of St. John, N. B., and Halifax, N. S., many western and central Canadian exporters

have stipulated that their shipments across the ocean should go via Portland, Me., and Boston. An important fact in this connection is the continuation of Portland, Me., as the ocean terminal of the former Grand Trunk Railroad, now a unit in the Canadian National Railways system. As Portland is a shorter haul from Central and Western Canada than either St. John or Halifax, the railroad executives are routing freight through Portland despite the deluge of objections from the Maritime Provinces, whose people claim that Canadian freight should be sent through Canadian ports.

The political leaders of the Maritime Provinces, regardless of party affiliations, have united in condemning the action of the railroad executives in maintaining Portland as the ocean terminal of a Government-owned railway system. But the railroad executives answer that the shorter haul means smaller freight charges to the shipper and reduced operating charges to the railroad. It is asserted by railway men that the haul to New Brunswick and Halifax is handicapped by formidable grades and that transportation through the Maritime Provinces is effected at a loss. In the course of the bitter discussion that has resulted, the railroad executives are accused of discrimination against the chief ports of the Maritime Provinces. Bitter complaints have also been made against the abandonment of Moncton, N. B., as a railway operating base.

## AN ALARMING EXODUS

Migration from the Maritime Provinces to the United States began to alarm the business and political interests of

the three eastern Provinces early in 1923. Through the Port of Yarmouth, N. S., Canadian terminal for a steamship service, with the United States terminal at Boston, the exodus has numbered from 4,000 to 5,000 per month. By steamer from St. John a similar number went to Boston. By rail approximately 10,000 per month left the Maritime Provinces. The majority of these emigrants settled in New England, although many thousands made their homes in and about New York City, and many thousands also went to Detroit and other cities in the central United States. Some thousands more proceeded further west to California, Oregon and Washington. It is estimated that the year 1923 saw about 200,000 people leave the Maritime Provinces to settle in the United States. Most of these were young men and women, with an extraordinarily large proportion of married men transferring their homes from Canada to the United States.

A serious consequence of the depression has been that talk of secession from the Dominion on the part of the three Maritime Provinces has become rife. Hitherto any person advocating such a radical step would have been laughed at. But the people of the Maritime Provinces, and particularly the business men and manufacturers, were in the mood to listen to anything. First, there was advocacy of what has been designated a union of Maritime Provinces, under which New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island would be merged into one Province. By some, this move was not considered sufficiently radical, and the suggestion was made that the Maritime Provinces formally renounce membership in the Dominion of Canada. Under this plan, a separate colony under the British Crown, would be formed, the Provinces remaining separate, as in the past. In either case the secessionists contended that arrangements could be made with

the United States for preferential tariff legislation favoring the Maritime Provinces—a species of reciprocity, which would bring about a restoration of prosperous conditions.

The agitation for secession has extended into the Provincial Legislatures. In the Nova Scotia House of Assembly the subject has already been broached by the leader of one of the political parties, who went so far as to introduce a resolution calling for secession. After some discussion, the resolution was tabled, but the general feeling seemed to prevail among the legislators that the situation demanded drastic remedies. Among the suggestions that have been advanced is one for the organization of a Maritime bloc in the House of Commons at Ottawa, with all members of that body from the three eastern Provinces uniting regardless of previous political ties.

Business men, manufacturers, professional men and politicians, in their advocacy of secession from the Dominion of Canada and the establishment of a new British colony, point out that such a colony would boast of a population exceeding that of Newfoundland. There would be approximately 1,000,000 in the territory. In the past no responsible body of opinion had been in favor of a separate colony for the Maritime Provinces, but in 1923, with the United States markets all but closed by the Fordney-McCumber tariff measure, the failure of the central and western Provinces to buy goods manufactured and products grown in the Maritime Provinces in sufficient quantities to replace the United States markets, the acute transportation problem, the closing of mills and industrial plants, the general migration, the dearth of money and attendant poor business, all began to be contributing factors in the demand by responsible men and women for secession.





# *The Efforts to Form a Union of Baltic States*

By JOHN H. WUORINEN

Professor of History, State University of Iowa

THE territorial dissolution of Russia after the revolution in 1917 resulted in the appearance of five new independent States in the Baltic basin—Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. Their début was made at a time not altogether propitious. Thrust suddenly into a mixed and somewhat turbulent company, not only were the new countries confronted with the necessity of organizing the political, economic and other aspects of their domestic life, but their capacities were taxed by the additional task of safeguarding their newly won independence. For this reason their foreign policies were largely characterized by efforts to find safe anchorage in the unsettled waters of European politics.

During the past four years several attempts were made to form some sort of a league that would include the Scandinavian States as well. The main aim of such proposed leagues was to afford their members mutual protection, particularly against possible attack by Russia. None of these efforts was completely successful, because no platform was found sufficiently spacious to make room for the political and other diversities of the countries concerned. In spite of frequent invitations to participate, the Scandinavian States remained aloof, leaving the work of league making to their new neighbors. Finland also refused to become a party to any of the agreements which were drawn up from time to time. In the Summer of 1920 a conference was held at Riga, delegates from Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Poland attending. A military alliance was formulated, but failed to materialize. Later conferences were held in Helsingfors in July, 1921, and in Warsaw in March, 1922.

At the latter meeting a defensive alliance was concluded, designed to weld the participants into a workable political unit in respect to their foreign policies. The agreement forbade any of the contracting States to conclude any treaty that might be inimical to the other signatories, and also required treaties with non-member States to be communicated to the other members of the league. Esthonia, Latvia and Poland ratified the treaty, but Finland refused. Finland's failure to adhere was due to Article 7, which stated that: "In case any one of the signatories is attacked without provocation, the other States will observe an attitude of benevolent friendliness toward the attacked party and will at once commence negotiations in regard to the measures to be taken." The Finnish Diet was unwilling to indorse a pact that might become operative in the event of Polish difficulties with Germany, for instance.

Another conference was held at Riga on July 11-12, 1923. At this meeting the participating delegates decided to recommend to their Governments that they support the candidacy of a Polish delegate for membership in the Council of the League of Nations. Even this relatively mild form of cooperation with Poland was considered in Finland as tantamount to enlistment in the Foreign Legion of France and the Government was criticized for its tendency to seek alliance with the southern neighbors of Finland.

The most recent of this series of conferences was held at Warsaw in February, 1924. The results of this meeting were no more concrete than were those of its predecessors. The advisability of cooperation by the participating countries within the League of Nations

was affirmed, and it was decided that the next conference would be held at Helsingfors.

#### FINLAND AND SWEDEN CAUTIOUS.

The caution displayed by Finland in dealing with her confrères is attributable to specific reasons. Participation in any political coalition with the former Baltic provinces would at once definitely establish the character of Finland as one of the buffer States against Russia, while any close alliance with Poland would mean the acceptance of Polish guidance along paths leading to the labyrinth of Franco-Polish political entanglements. Finland is desirous of avoiding both these prospects and would prefer to unite herself with the Scandinavian political system—an inspiration emphasized by the historical, cultural and other bonds uniting her with Scandinavia. For these reasons the creed, "Political orientation to the south, only cultural orientation to the west," failed to become a preponderant directive force in Finnish foreign policy.

It was noted above that Sweden, Norway and Denmark remained only passively concerned in the trend of affairs in the Baltic basin. In the case of Norway and Denmark, this disinterested attitude was carried to a point which practically resulted in the elimination of these countries, at least for the time being, from the list of potent factors in the Baltic situation. Sweden's attitude, however, recently underwent a change that deserves mention.

In 1918 and during the following two years, the view rather generally accepted in Sweden and Finland was that the Aland Island controversy was the only obstacle to closer political co-operation between these two countries. Though this problem was solved by the settlement of the dispute by the League of Nations, the political constellation in Northern Europe remained practically unchanged. Swedish unwillingness to participate in a more or less extensive Baltic union, however, was not the result of lack of interest. Sweden was watching closely the activi-

ties of her new neighbors during recent years. Especial attention had been paid to the tendencies of Finnish foreign policy and the past year, in particular, witnessed a lively interest in "Baltic orientation."

#### NEW TREND IN SWEDEN

In considering Sweden's relation to Baltic problems it should be remembered that not even the pressure of the World War, when the Scandinavian States had innumerable common interests, was able to bring about a real alliance of the North. The liquidation of post-war problems, however, tended to break down this isolation and made the Baltic question assume an ever-growing importance in Sweden. The reason for this was twofold. The need for new markets, aggravated and partly created by the financial collapse of Central Europe, as well as the ever-present militarist agitation for renewed watchfulness of Russian imperialism, both precipitated a realization of the need of some purposeful action. Demands were made for the maintenance of the status quo in the Baltic and at least one important Swedish paper went so far as to urge the Government to shake off its "traditional paralysis of national consciousness" and declare Sweden's sphere of influence to be the sea.

Public opinion, however, was divided on the matter, the conservative groups maintaining that a failure to become actively interested in the Baltic situation meant the giving of carte blanche to the imperialistic aspirations of Russia, while the opposing point of view identified all attempts to launch Sweden into the midstream of Baltic politics with the pernicious labors of the pro-German activists during the war. Undoubtedly a realization of the necessity for active participation is gaining ground, but the problem of what form this participation should take is still unsolved. The flavor of the word "entente" is too French and the idea it conveys has been brought into disrepute, while an "alliance" seems to be too strong a tonic for Swedish nerves.





The Baltic States and neighboring countries

This was amply illustrated by the political suicide of M. Hederstierna, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was forced to tender his resignation as the result of an unofficial speech made on Oct. 29, 1923, in which he suggested the desirability of a defensive alliance with Finland. M. Hederstierna was the first official personage in conspicuous public office to give expression to such

views. The reception of his speech, therefore, leading to his resignation, was considered a death-blow to all hopes of Swedish membership in a Baltic union. It must not be overlooked, however, that the Trygger Cabinet could not afford to jeopardize its defense program by retaining a member whose views might obviously create a reaction against "militarism and entangling for-

eign policies" that might sweep the whole Cabinet out of office.

#### LATVO-ESTHONIAN ACCORD

Though Fenno-Scandia turned its back upon Baltic leagues, the countries south of the Finnish Gulf were more favorably inclined. During the past few years intermittent negotiations were carried on between Esthonia and Latvia. Boundary disputes and other difficulties retarded the progress of the negotiations, but on Nov. 1, 1923, a treaty was signed which provided for a customs union and established a defensive alliance. The following points in the treaty deserve mention: The contracting parties stand committed to policies of a peaceful character; their foreign policies and diplomatic affairs are to be directed in the closest possible harmony; provision is made for mutual aid in case of an unprovoked attack; the concluding of separate peace is forbidden, and recourse to arbitration in matters of dispute is stipulated; all treaties with outside States are to be communicated to the other signatory and entered into only with his consent. The defensive union created by these provisions is for a period of ten years.

The agreement was considered significant by Esthonia and Latvia and it was intimated that it would furnish the nucleus of a more extensive alliance. Lithuania's accession to the treaty was prevented by the state of Polish-Lithuanian relations, which excluded her from the conferences mentioned, but signs were not wanting that Lithuania would be able to profit by the Latvo-Esthonian accord. It is very doubtful, however, if the present league can be sufficiently expanded to include the incompatibilities of Poland and Finland.

The failure to form a functioning Baltic league has not totally excluded international cooperation in Baltic problems. The Aland Island settlement resulting in the permanent demilitarization and neutralization of the islands is a well-known instance. The Danzig controversy was solved in a manner which promises to remain unchanged while the present political con-

ditions in Europe prevail, and the report of the Davis commission indicates an acceptable compromise in the troublesome Memel situation. The Dorpat treaty, concluded by Russia and Finland on Oct. 14, 1920, furnishes still another example. Article XII. states: "The contracting powers shall in principle favor the neutralization of the Gulf of Finland and the entire Baltic Sea and undertake to cooperate in the realization of this project." The cooperation suggested has been unfortunately prevented by a series of events: a host of boundary disputes, alleged violations of neutrality, the Carelia controversy and so forth, dispute over which has frequently given the relations of these two countries a character of garrulous enmity rather than one of peaceful cordiality.

#### AGAINST A GENERAL UNION

The negligible success met by the attempts to create a general political union among the Baltic States is an indication of the existing diversity of opinion in these countries regarding the limits within which concerted action is feasible or desirable. For the time being, at least, the verdict rendered has been against political alliances of any sort, although the reasons for this have been as varied as the political aims of the different States. Other avenues, however, have been found which have led at least to partial economic, financial and other forms of non-political cooperation.

In the case of the three Scandinavian States, the question of different forms of non-political accord has been under discussion ever since the 'sixties, when the problem was earnestly taken up at the meetings of Scandinavian political economists. These discussions centred mainly upon the feasibility of a customs union, but the developments during the next few decades rendered problematical any concerted action, and the separation of Sweden and Norway in 1905 rather definitely shelved the idea. The difficulties experienced during the World War by these countries, as well as by neutrals in general, brought the



problem again to the fore, but nothing of permanent importance was achieved.

Nor did the years following the war result in any definite progress toward economic cooperation. This was indicated by the Scandinavian Trade Conference at the Gothenburg Exposition in June, 1923. It was noted at the meeting that actual official cooperation existed—particularly in the field of insurance and maritime legislation—but it was also pointed out that the promise held out by the tendencies during the war had not been realized. More thoroughgoing and extensive cooperation thus remains an aspiration nursed by the exponents of "Pan-Scandinavianism"; its actuality has been dissipated by protective tariffs and other commercial and financial incompatibilities.

#### COOPERATION ALONG OTHER LINES

If we turn to Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, we find that the failure to enter into a political union did not prevent cooperation along other lines. No startling results were obtained, but a beginning was made which, perhaps, will lead to more extensive arrangements. The economic conference held at Helsingfors on March 5-8, 1923, was attended by representatives from the countries mentioned with the exception of Lithuania. The aim of the conference was to promote the development of commercial relations between the participating countries. A number of resolutions were adopted which, among other things, pointed out the desirability of establishing the closest possible economic reciprocity by commercial agreements and the advisability of holding a financial conference in the near future for the purpose of solving monetary, financial and related problems.

In pursuance of these resolutions a financial conference was held at Reval, Oct. 16-19, 1923, at which the following questions were discussed: (1) The need of mutual dissemination of information pertaining to economic legislation and general economic conditions in the different countries; (2) financial and currency problems; (3) proposals

for cooperation between the State Banks in the Baltic States. A program was agreed upon which would result in a greater stabilization of the respective currencies, and it was decided that the details of the policies to be followed would be worked out by a subsequent conference. Mention should also be made of the tariff conference held at Riga from Sept. 27 to 29, 1923, at which common tariff problems were discussed. The labors of this meeting were also of a preliminary nature, but it is not improbable that its effects will be reflected in the provisions of commercial treaties and other agreements.

Before concluding this survey with a brief reference to some of the larger aspects of the Baltic situation, passing mention must be made of the conference which assembled at Stockholm on Feb. 28, 1924, at which Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland were represented. The work of this conference led to the establishment of an arbitration commission for the purpose of facilitating the peaceful solution of difficulties that might arise between the four States. Though this agreement is devoid of any great political significance, it constituted another example of the tendency among the States of Northern Europe to extend the principle of friendly cooperation and served as an additional indication of the natural inclusion of Finland in the Fenno-Scandian group of nations.

#### RUSSO-GERMAN INTERESTS EMERGE

If we attempt to consider the present Baltic situation in its general European setting, two or three observations might profitably be made. The disappearance of Germany and Russia from the stage of Baltic affairs did not leave that part of Europe masterless. It is true that lack of cooperation prevented Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland from becoming the "new masters of the Baltic," while the Scandinavian States have deserted the field for stronger rivals; but during the past few years France and England have secured certain potential friends among the States bordering upon the sea and have been, in fact, the real

masters of the "Mediterranean of the North."

The growing Franco-British estrangement caused the Scandinavian kingdoms to gravitate toward England. The marriage of the Swedish Crown Prince to Lady Mountbatten in November, 1923, together with the rather general condemnation of the French policies toward Germany, accentuated this tendency. Only last Fall an Anglo-Scandinavian entente, including Finland, was discussed in the Scandinavian press, although with no political results. On the other hand, French solicitude for Poland created a close bond of union between these countries. Though Poland is the only one among the new States with unmistakable French proclivities, this handicap is at least partly offset by the somewhat questionable potency of the Little Entente. However real the mastery of France and England over the Baltic may be, however, it is obvious that it can be only temporary, for no Baltic question, least of all that of Baltic control can be effectively settled without Russian and German participation.

The Russian and German interests in the Baltic are evident. The World War brought with it a number of reverses to Russia, and one of these was the failure to obtain the coveted control over the Straits guaranteeing an unrestricted access to the Mediterranean. This fact enhanced the importance of the Baltic ports as outlets for Russian trade, and for this reason the growing recognition of the stability of the present Russian Government will bring with it the necessity of recognizing Russia's "legitimate" interests in the Baltic basin. The obvious importance of Germany will inevitably lead to her emergence sooner or later as a determining factor in Northern Europe.

There are, furthermore, evidences that in the not distant future the French "vertical" policy—the attempt, by means of military and other alliances, to create a wall separating Russia and Germany, consisting of a tier of States extending from north to south and including the Little Entente, Poland and preferably also the other Baltic States

—will have to give way to the "horizontal" tendencies of German and Russian foreign policy. The Rapallo agreement is only one illustration of this rapprochement. It is no mere coincidence that Lithuania became a stumbling block in the way of the French aspirations in this part of Europe, for Lithuania lies at the point of intersection between Russia and Germany, and this fact, together with the Vilna and Memel controversies, made Lithuania a promising connecting link between these two great potential allies.

Finally, the military situation in Northern Europe is undergoing a change. The failure of the States discussed to form a defensive alliance stimulated a demand for increased armaments. The military tendencies of Poland need no further comment. In Finland the agitation found expression in the "Machine Army" idea, which seeks a solution for the numerical inadequacy of the army in a substantial increase in tanks, armored cars, airplanes and so forth. On Nov. 26, 1923, the Government appointed a committee to investigate the general problem of defense, and there is no doubt that this committee will urge a thoroughgoing military reform along the lines suggested. In Sweden the reorganization of the defense, as suggested by information made public by the Government in February of this year, also places a greater emphasis upon the technical side of the military establishment. In Denmark a permanent Council of Defense was created in August, 1923, which will serve to co-ordinate more closely the military and naval departments of national defense. Estonia and Latvia have also reorganized their armies, although on a less pretentious scale.

Apparently, this military preparedness is a result of the emphasis placed upon the need for satisfactory means of defense; it can hardly be considered as indicating a genuine belief in the adequacy of even the most elaborate war machinery that the relatively slender resources of these small countries could construct and maintain.



# *Esthonia's Progress Toward National Stability*

By ANDREW PRANSPIILL

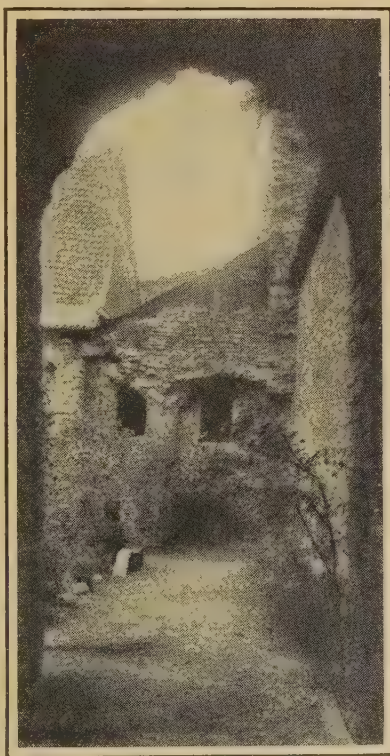
American correspondent to the Esthonian daily *Waba Maa* (Free Land), the daily *Paewaleht*, published at Reval, the Esthonian capital, and the *Postimees* (Postman), published at Dorpat

ON Jan. 21, 1924, about 150 Esthonian Communists were arrested in Tallinn (Reval), Tartu (Dorpat), and in other towns. Among those arrested were five members of the Riigikogu, the Esthonian Parliament. This action of the Esthonian Government came as a surprise to the Communists and to the general public alike. It was necessary for the Minister of Interior, K. Einbund, to make an official explanation of the Government's reasons.

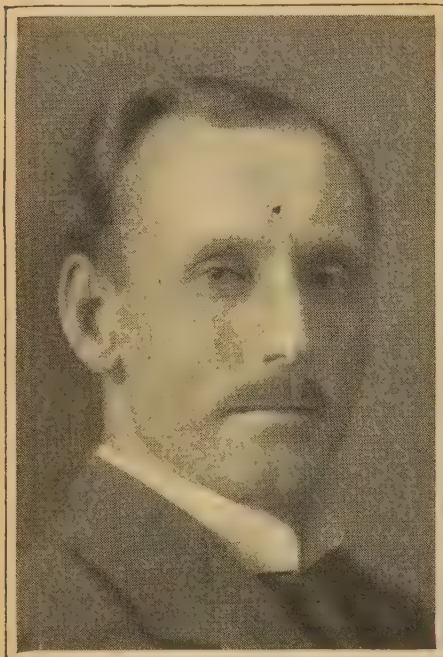
According to Einbund, the Government had documentary evidence that the Communists were planning an armed insurrection under the guidance of the Third International of Moscow for the purpose of setting up a dictatorship of the proletariat in Esthonia. The documents seized proved that the Esthonian Communist organization was nothing but a section of the Moscow International, that their leaders were in constant communication with the Russian Communists, and that they were willing to act under orders from Moscow. In some of their letters to their Russian

comrades the Esthonian Communists complained that it was extremely difficult for them to function in Esthonia; other communications showed that the Communist members of the Esthonian Parliament under their own signature had sought funds from Communist organizations in foreign lands. The sums donated were supposed to be turned over to the Esthonian Communists through a certain foreign embassy acting as intermediary in Esthonia.

The Russian Government itself seems to have been involved. According to the Minister of the Interior, Komintern, and Profintern, Russian semi-official organizations receiving funds directly from the Soviet Government, directed the activities of the Esthonian Communists. The daily *Postimees* of Tartu (Dorpat) stated that 45,000,000 gold rubles were spent by the Russian Communists in 1923 on Communist propaganda in foreign lands, including the United States, where twelve Communist publications received subsidies. It was further stated that the Russian Communists



A corner of the old city of Reval, now capital of the Esthonian Republic



I. EINBUND  
Minister of the Interior of Esthonia

are planning to spend 35,000,000 gold rubles on foreign propaganda. How much of this sum is being spent in Esthonia is not known, but it is evident that it is extremely important for the Russian Communists first to break through the border States if they are to succeed at all.

The Communists of Esthonia had been under a close surveillance for some time, and all their plans and schemes were known to the Government secret service. The climax came when the Communists were about to set the date for their armed insurrection. With the foiling of this plot their organization is now shattered. In Esthonia, in distinction to the system prevailing in Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, the Communist organizations are not outlawed, but are permitted to function in the open as long as they remain within the law. For that reason there are ten Communist representatives in Parliament. The Government's view is that Communist activities cannot be checked by mere repression, and that therefore

the best remedy is free discussion and untrammelled public opinion. Members of Parliament are largely immune from arrest, but not if caught in the commission of a criminal act. The Government charged that this was the case when the Communist members were arrested.

The rise of a group of small Baltic States out of the former provinces of Russia has led some writers to ask the question whether these States will not bring about troubles similar to those in the Balkan peninsula, but the last few years show that there is no serious foundation for such fears. The Baltic States have sought friendly intercourse with one another from the very beginning. Esthonia has signed several commercial treaties with Finland and Latvia, and negotiations are now in progress with Latvia seeking to liberalize some of the tariff restrictions between the two States. Certain leading statesmen and influential newspapers hope that the time will come when there will be no tariff restrictions on the commercial intercourse between those States, when their citizens will be able to move about from one State to another as they did when both these States were provinces of Russia. Latvia's industries, having suffered much more from the war than those of Esthonia, cannot compete with the better established business of the latter. This is especially true of the highly developed textile industry of Esthonia. Consequently, a protective tariff policy is, for the time being at least, required by Latvia.

The year 1924 opened with a Ministerial crisis. A. Anderkopp, Minister of War, and I. Weiderman, Minister of Education, the members of the Labor Party in the Coalition Cabinet, resigned. The financial policy of the Government caused a bitter party controversy. Otto Strandman, a ranking member of the Labor Party in the Riigikogu, accused the Government of granting too much money in loans to industrial capitalists and neglecting the farmers. The Government was also charged with the granting of too liberal loans to merchants. There was an adverse trade bal-



ance and the exchange rate of the Estonian mark fell. There is no doubt that this was in part caused by the financial policy of the Government, but it is also true that another important factor was the crop failure due to the excessive rains during the harvest. According to the reports of the Government Statistical Bureau, the yearly consumption of grain staples of Estonia is 11,281,000 poods (a pood is equal to 40 pounds). The total yield of 1923 was 9,692,000 poods, producing a shortage of 14.3 per cent. Cattle fodder showed a greater decrease, being 34 per cent. less in 1923 than in 1922. The potato crop on the whole suffered the least, the shortage being only 2.7 per cent.

Estonia's external trade has grown rapidly during the last few years. The total of exports and imports in 1920 was 2,623,565,000 marks; in 1921, 6,769,246,000 marks; in 1922, 10,400,996,000 marks; in 1923, 14,769,000,000 marks. Imports in 1923 amounted to 63.5 per cent. and exports 36.5 per cent. The best trade years for Estonia were

1920 and 1921, when the imports were 53.5 per cent. and exports 46.5 per cent. With an adverse trade balance it was natural that the exchange rate of the mark, which had been 340 to a dollar for the last three years, should begin to fall. When the rainy season set in it reached 400 in December. The State Bank stopped credits to the merchants and industrial capitalists. As a result some factories were closed and there was a certain number of business failures. Unemployment made Government aid necessary. In January, 1924, the Government bureaus had registered over 1,600 unemployed and a sum of 25,000,000 marks was authorized for their relief. In spite of these difficulties, the budget for 1924 almost balances. Payment of interest on the debt to the United States is provided to the extent of 262,538,500 marks. The Government has requested France to extend the payment of the French loan for one year on account of the crop failures of 1923. The French Government has consented to defer the payment of 73,335,000 marks for one year, but the interest on the loan has to be paid.

The question of prohibition is in the foreground in Estonia today, the newspapers devoting much of their space to temperance propaganda. It is proposed to restrict the consumption of alcohol by legislation and give the Government an exclusive State monopoly.

Estonia is perhaps the first among the new States to take a definite stand on a purely religious question. The Estonians are Protestant Lutherans. In the Spring of 1923 the question of religious instruction in the public schools was brought up in the Riigikogu and an overwhelming majority of the members voted against such instruction. A bill to that effect was about to pass, when, owing to the insistence of a small group of the Christian People's Party, the question was submitted to a plebiscite. This was the first referendum in the life of the nation. Out of a population of 1,110,000, 461,313 persons of both sexes participated. The result was 328,548 in favor of religious instruction and 130,681 against.



O. STRANDMANN  
Leader of the Labor Party of Estonia

# Count Karolyi—Hungary's Exiled Statesman

By OSCAR JASZI

Formerly Professor of Sociology in the University of Budapest; a member of the Hungarian Cabinet under Count Károlyi; recently appointed to a Professorship of Sociology at Oberlin College, Ohio

COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI is one of the most interesting figures in Europe today. Before the collapse of Hungary at the end of the war, he was the richest magnate in his native country, a pampered pet of aristocratic society, a famous sportsman, noted gambler and brilliant conversationalist. His wife, formerly Countess Catharine Andrássy, was known as one of the most brilliant and witty women of Hungarian aristocracy. There was, indeed, no more conspicuous and envied couple in Hungary.

Politically, Károlyi began his career on the extreme Right as the director of the National Hungarian Economic Association, which gathered the great landed interests of the country into a single, solid political organization. The Government was one in name only, the real power being in the hands of the "soviet" of the land owners and aristocrats; who, under Count Károlyi, directed the actions of the successive Administrations with their secret "ukases." As a member of Parliament Count Károlyi naturally viewed political problems from the standpoint of the interests of the large landed proprietors of his own class.

Very soon, however, Károlyi's political career took a surprising turn. For this there were two reasons. One was the ancient family tradition that placed him in opposition to German-Austrian dominance under the constitution of the Dual Monarchy; the other was his deeply human sympathies and keen moral sense, which brought him nearer and nearer to an understanding of the poor and the disinherited. Károlyi is in many ways a mystic, acting under the

influence of visions and ideals. He greatly resembles the heroes of Dostoevski. However much his life was one of daily routine and actualities, he derived his real inspiration from within his own consciousness, and he persisted in carrying out his intuitions with stubborn pertinacity that no power on earth could divert or hinder. In this respect he ran true to form as a gambler and sportsman. He was ready to stake everything—fortune, power, popularity—on one turn of the wheel, when he felt that thereby his ideals could be realized.

However much he sympathized with the ideas of national independence and democracy under normal conditions, he would have developed into an aristocratic liberal in the best case, and not the revolutionary that he actually became—the man who dethroned the Hapsburgs and distributed the landed estates, the hero of independence and social ideals, the destroyer of old, feudal Hungary, the first President of the Hungarian Republic and the bugbear of the aristocracy and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. It was the experiences he gained in the war that made him a real revolutionary. The horrors of the trenches, the sufferings of the poor wretches about him, drove him to pacifism and socialism, and after the war, having come into power, he did his best to reward the people who had shed their blood for their country.

To the detriment of Hungary and the whole of Europe, Károlyi could not put into operation his program of democracy, peace and social reform, the senseless policy of the Entente having driven Hungary first into the arms of the Bol-



sheviki and then into those of Admiral Horthy's White Terrorists. Under the Red Terror of the Bolsheviki Károlyi was forced to leave the country. Later he could not return owing to the restoration of Hapsburg feudalism, for the landowners and aristocrats overwhelmed him with accusations and libels, confiscated his property and followed him even into distant countries with their assassins so that they might make an end of the hated and feared hero of Hungarian liberty.

#### IN EXILE

Thus Károlyi, with his wife and three small children, began his wanderings. At first he hid in Austrian villages, then he sought refuge among the Czech mountains, in a lonely, snow-covered village. The climate having endangered the health of his children, he settled down for a while in a suburb of Prague, only to move on again to the hills of Florence, in Italy, until the intrigues of Horthy's spies forced him to leave and pursue his way to Ragusa on the Adriatic, that ancient refuge of political exiles, where he sought and found hospitality. The Yugoslav asylum did not afford him protection for long, and, unable to earn a livelihood there, he decided to move to London, where opportunities were more promising. Here Károlyi and his family passed through an extremely hard four years. Want and misery, which he and his wife knew only from reading and from contact with the poor, became their lot. Often only the children could have supper at the end of the day. Countess Károlyi did her own cooking and washing, and the former leader of the Hungarian aristocracy and ex-President of the Hungarian Republic carried the coal on his back to his lodgings.

While the Károlyi couple and their children thus lived in misery and in fear of their lives from the knives of Horthy's assassin-emissaries, in Hungary a press bureau was spreading all over the world calumnies that were never contradicted, to the effect that Count Károlyi had sold his country to the Entente, that he had infected the vic-

torious Hungarian army with the virus of pacifism and that he—the richest aristocrat in Hungary—had surrendered control to Moscow agents for money.

For a long time Károlyi took no notice of this campaign of lies and slander. He bore his burdens without a word of protest, having intercourse with only a few intimate friends and burying himself among his books. Sometimes when I visited him at his various hiding places and we talked in unheated rooms, sitting till late in our overcoats, I asked myself if this spoiled child of aristocratic clubs, the famous gentleman of leisure, would ever be able to go through with this life of physical and mental torture. Only once did I hear him break out in indignant protest, and that was when he heard that Horthy's press agents in their campaign of calumny did not spare even the good name of his wife.

That suffering has only added to the elevation of his intellect and steeled his character instead of undermining it is evidenced by the publication of the first volume of his memoirs ("Against the Whole World," Vol. I.—*My Struggle For Peace*: Vienna, 1924). In this volume Károlyi deals with events up to the outbreak of the revolution in October, 1918, beginning with the circumstances that influenced his character from early childhood and had decisive effects upon the development of his policy and convictions. No other political memoirs leave such a deep impression on the reader as these, no doubt because there is very little of so-called everyday politics in what he writes, but much about the political atmosphere in which he lived. Perhaps the book that best compares with Károlyi's is the "Memoirs" of Prince Kropotkin. If the latter be the fine sociological and psychological analysis of Russian feudalism, the former is certainly a brilliant and colorful portrait of Hungarian feudal society. Nor does the comparison stop there. In both writers there is the same freedom of spirit, the same courage of sincerity, the same power of moral revelation. In either case we feel on every page that we are listening to men who



International

COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI

have dissociated themselves from the prejudices of their class and are seeking only truth and the peace of their own consciences.

#### SELF-ACCUSATIONS

At the very beginning of his work Károlyi puts his case before the world in the following words:

I am thinking of the working Hungarians at this moment, for what I write I write for them. I believe that, if these lines will reach only a hundred people tomorrow, it will be enough. Through the many dark pages I have had to cover, I believe some light will penetrate the veil of prejudice that still dims so many minds at home. I believe that they will understand if I say that I am innocent of the crimes of which they accuse me and that I am guilty of crimes of which I accuse myself. They accuse me of having been a traitor to my country and sold it to the Entente, whose friend I was, at the time when my people were fighting on the side of the arch-enemy of the Entente. They did not accuse me of what I accuse myself, namely, that I did not stay in France in 1914 and did not, like Masaryk, fight there for the independence of my country. They accused me unjustly of having returned home and that I broke up the fronts with my pacifistic ideas;

but they did not accuse me of the fact, though I am preferring the accusation against myself, that in spite of pacifistic ideas, I voluntarily went to the trenches as a soldier. They accuse me—again falsely—of preparing the revolution that blew up the foundations of the old system; but they did not accuse me of what I accuse myself—that when I realized in mind and heart that the world of wealth and rank is not my world, I did not accept the consequences of this realization and did not resign all those privileges that were mine as a heritage and by right of birth; I had put my conscience to sleep and refused to hold myself accountable. I thought one could fight for ideals without assimilating one's whole life with the struggle itself. To do so I know it cannot be done. I have torn myself away from my class, and with ripe mind and tried heart, I have selected a new allegiance: that of the Hungarian workers. I feel I am tied to them indissolubly. For the building of a new world, I would like to carry the bricks with them. Through the events of a fighting past, in the direction of a happier future, certainly hoped for, my book is looking forward. *Ora e sempre!*

Károlyi's memoirs will interest not only politicians, but—and perhaps most of all—psychologists and sociologists, who will discover in the book an unusually candid, sincere and authentic document for the understanding of one of the most interesting conversions in history. Károlyi's political change has its sources in events dating back more than two centuries, and with this he begins his confessions. The Károlyi family owed the foundation of its fortunes to one of its ancestors, Alexander Károlyi (1668-1743), one of the leading Generals of Francis Rakoczy, the Transylvania Prince who strove for Hungarian independence against Austria and the Hapsburgs. After a series of heroic fights this Károlyi laid down his arms and surrendered to the army of the Austrian Emperor in 1711. For this act, which the Hungarian Nation always looked upon as treason, Alexander Károlyi received his title of aristocracy and immense estates. The shadow of this surrender darkened the life of Count Michael Károlyi, hovering over him already as a child, and offering him no peace of mind as he grew older. Regarding this fatal inheritance he writes:

I would like to recall the moment when I first began to be aware that I could not live the life of my ancestor Alexander. But this moment is lost in the dimness of the past. I could not have been more than 12, or at the most 13 years old, when I discovered a passage in a book, where it was said that the Hungarian people considered the surrender of Alexander



Károlyi on the Majtény Plains an act of treason to the country. I could not, I would not, believe what I had read. I studied the arguments against this contention most eagerly, and subsequently I myself subsidized publications to refute the charges which offended my vanity and pride. But these books could not convince me and, I am afraid, neither could they convince their readers. I had to believe that Rakoczy's cause was about to be lost; that the Hungarian Nation, after the exhausted Louis XIV. had deserted it, could turn nowhere else but to the victorious Hapsburgs. But I could not admit that the man who, having recognized this, made the nation accept its consequences, should ever have accepted a reward for his actions.

#### ANCESTOR'S TREASON

Károlyi thus favored the distribution of the landed estates among the peasantry, not only for political and social reasons, but also because he saw in this reform the means of performing an act of historical justice. Nor were the Károlyi estates the only ones that originated in treason. Most of the properties of the nobility and the higher clergy in Hungary had been received as gifts or bribes for similar services in the past—for supporting Hapsburg domination against the interests of the Hungarian Nation. Károlyi openly says:

I settled my account. Whatever share I had in the grant, I returned to those to whom it justly belonged—to the Hungarian people—and started along the road I would have taken had I been in the place of my great-grandfather—the road of exile. I would exchange places with the humblest of the exiles of those Rakoczy times, but I would not take the place of that brilliant and clever leader who paid for his title and fortune with his honor—the same title and fortune that I, too, enjoyed up to my forty-third year.

When the tumultuous events following upon the lost war placed Károlyi at the head of affairs, the ideals of past national traditions and present-day social demands had the same strong hold upon his mind. On that triumphant night in October, 1918, when as Prime Minister he walked from the royal palace in Budapest, his feverish mind was occupied but with two visions—Hungary freed of the Hapsburgs and the distribution of the land among the peasantry. Of this he writes:

Suddenly I felt the greatness of the moment and realized the immensity of the task that had fallen on me to build up an independent Hungary to which I had dedicated my life and to destroy the hated institutions against which I had fought all my life. \* \* \* I passed by soldiers. They were starved and their uniforms were hanging from them in rags. I looked into their faces. They

were agricultural laborers. What fate would await them on their return home? More forcibly than ever did the idea grip me: Distribute the land among them! We must remove from their brows the shadows of care. They must be compensated for the neglect and suffering that had been theirs during the past years. The land should be given to the landless Magyars.

These two purposes pulsate on every page of Károlyi's book, but with them mention has to be made of a third dominating motive—his pacifism, which was neither mere sentimentality nor a political formula, but the genuine and burning hatred of a real man of culture horrified by the barbarities of war. The injustices perpetrated on the battlefronts impressed him as a sort of personal insult. Seeing the poverty-stricken men in the ranks bleeding and suffering in the trenches, while aristocrats and financiers, sheltered by privilege, enjoyed full safety behind the fighting zone, he became possessed by an elemental rage. Seldom did the Hungarian aristocracy hear the truth dished up in a more unpalatable form than the way it was offered to them by Károlyi, although once he was the leading member of their exclusive jockey club:

Generally speaking, in our army one could always notice the difference that existed between the "front officers" and the "divisional officers." The differences between the regimental officers and the staff officers were even greater, and they hated one another more than they hated the enemy. In my division the "front officers" spoke of "stiff swine," while these retorted with "the scum at the front," because these poor fellows had little time or opportunity to clean and groom themselves in the front trenches. \* \* \* Those who had connections and influence were in the rear, secure in safe dug-outs. Very seldom could one detect an exception, and most rarely among the pure-blood aristocrats.

One instance that stands out conspicuously from among the rest was this: Baron Bela Hazai, the son of the Minister of Defense, had been wounded and after his recovery his father succeeded in arranging for him to be transferred as an adjutant to the staff of General Pflanzes-Baltin. One day, at a parade, the General highly praised Baron Bela Hazai for his heroism and as a reward offered him an adjutancy on his staff. Baron Hazai stepped forward and before the whole regiment gave the General to understand that he would not think of accepting the offer because he would be ashamed of sitting in security at a time when older and more deserving men, with families waiting for them to return, were fighting in the front trenches. This was a reference to a division in which young aristocrats were slacking in swarms behind the lines. \* \* \* Hazai was a Jew; subsequently he died through a fall from an airplane.

## HORROR OF WAR

Károlyi's hatred of war and injustice did not permit him to rest for a moment. Sometimes he was so outspoken at the front about the ethics of war that his friends began to be uneasy on his account. What he says regarding one of these experiences is most characteristic:

By some accident I have never taken part in a bayonet attack, and so I cannot give a personal account of such an experience. I have been shot at, but I have never shot back. My fellow-officers, after my first dinner with them, offered me a rifle and the use of a machine gun, to while away the time with, and hunt for Russians, living beings, but I did not care to accept the offer. \* \* \* In 1916 I saw a regimental chaplain arrive at the Slogeria Plateau. I could not resist asking him a few questions: "Why do you come out here, reverend father? To receive confessions? What have these people to confess? That they have killed men? But for these deeds you will give them your blessing. If I am not mistaken it is you who bless them before they go into battle and murder. What would you do if a soldier found that his conscience is bothering him in spite of the fact that in obeying orders he killed a Russian? Or, if the soldier is only shielding himself with the order and actually killed his man because of a personal grudge? I am not going to confess to you, for I might promise you not to do it again and this would conflict with the rules and regulations." The Chaplain answered: "It is not right to joke over it, Count; it is not right to argue and ponder. \* \* \* They will settle it up there" (pointing to the sky), and shaking his head deprecatingly.

Károlyi's book is interesting not only because he relates his own life story, but because at the same time he presents a thorough and brilliant analysis of pre-war Hungary. Without a knowledge of the social structure and outlook of the country as it was, the present situation in the whole Danube Basin cannot be understood. The reactionary military absolutism that now prevails assumes in the propaganda it spreads abroad that Hungary before the war was an ideal country of progress and democracy. Károlyi's memoirs destroy this legend entirely by painting the former Dual Monarchy in its true colors, by showing that the old feudal system had become an anachronism and that it was impossible for the mixed group of nationalities living within the Austro-Hungarian frontiers to develop. Károlyi's description is the more convincing because it is not a compilation of facts tendenciously grouped, but a

direct and personal account based upon first-hand observation. The full-length portraits he paints of the three leading men of his time—Tisza, Apponyi and Andrassy—present a juster, more intimate and more convincing picture of recent political history than any compilation of economic and social information could offer.

No one saw more clearly than Károlyi that the policy of the Dual Monarchy, depending as it did upon German imperialism, would eventually drag Hungary into a catastrophe. Every page of his memoirs is a witness to how he fought all his life with unabated enthusiasm to save Hungary. The two main pillars of his policy were, first, the complete democratization of the feudal constitution by the adoption of universal suffrage and the expropriation of the landed estates; second, the dissolution of the German alliance and the creation of a French-Slav orientation in its stead. Just before the war he came to America in order to arouse American Hungarians in support of his democratic ideas and his policy of land expropriation coupled with his opposition to Austria. Of his propaganda tour, which was entirely successful, he writes:

I gained the impression that the American Hungarian shows the future possibilities of the Magyar at home. The American Magyar is the Magyar of democracy. As the advent of democracy in Hungary is only a matter of time, the Hungarian at home, in the chief features of his character, will resemble the American Hungarian. The only difference will be that the Hungarian of Hungary will be at home, in his own country, and that his democracy will of necessity be even greater than the American. The American Hungarians, especially in those districts where re-emigration has been conspicuous, have already had a great influence in the improvement of the character of our people.

## INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Not only did Károlyi seek foreign alliances in the interests of his democratic conceptions; he pursued his purposes also in the sphere of international politics. For this reason, just before the war, he went to Paris and had long conferences there with President Poincaré and other leading politicians. The World War found Károlyi in America, and his last speech in this country was devoted



to peace, emphasizing the solidarity of interests between Hungary and Yugoslavia. On his return to Hungary, after a brief internment in France, he did his best to loosen the German alliance, to prevent Italian intervention and to bring about a separate peace between the Entente and the Dual Monarchy. Károlyi was an enthusiastic supporter of Wilson's peace policy. He believes even today that if Wilson's program had been carried to its logical conclusion, Hungary would never have been overtaken by her present plight. Wilson's policy failed owing to the short-sightedness of the Austro-Hungarian leaders, who blindly followed their German ally over the precipice.

This volume of memoirs reveals what were the forces that overthrew Károlyi's democratic peace policy. There are chapters in his book that read almost like a thrilling detective story. For instance, the German Government sent spies to

Budapest during the war in order to trap Count Károlyi and drive him to commit suicide. These spies were enthusiastically supported by the Hungarian Government and a section of the aristocracy. Hungarian feudalism and Hapsburg militarism made Károlyi's far-sighted policy impossible, and when the chance for its realization came it was already too late. The military dissolution of the monarchy had already begun and the masses had turned to Bolshevism. Károlyi was overthrown by the inevitable consequences of a four-year war.

Without waiting for the second volume of Károlyi's memoirs, there is enough in the first to demonstrate his moral elevation and intellectual quality. He may have erred; perhaps he was not strong and unscrupulous enough—for he had a horror of shedding blood. But his intentions were always pure and he acted in the interests of his people and the whole of humanity.



# Transjordan's National Status

By "XENOPHON"

The writer, a Palestinian publicist and authority on Near East affairs, is well known under this pseudonym as a contributor to current periodicals

OF all the provinces of the vast Turkish Empire left disorganized at the end of the World War, there was none so abandoned as that part of Arabia now known as Transjordan. The story of this territory's struggle for and ultimate acquisition of its independence is one of the outstanding records of the reconstruction period in the Near East. During the Turkish régime Transjordan was a Mutesserriflik (governorship) under the Vilayet of Damascus; it presented a classic example of disorder, chaos and Turkish misrule. The Turkish authorities, far from exploiting its real and potential wealth and its manifold resources by constructive and mutually beneficial methods of development, had introduced a system of maladministration and injustice; the Government persistently thwarted all efforts toward cultivation of the country. The Hauran, the storehouse of corn not only for Palestine and Syria but for the whole of the Near East, became in the hands of the very disorganized Turkish machine a waste land resembling the vast Arabian desert.

The Anglo-French invasion brought a happy change and a new era dawned for the country. Colonel Lawrence, the adventurous young British officer who made himself so popular throughout Arabia, had succeeded with the moral support of the Sherifian family in raising a Bedouin force of 22,000 to combat the Turks. The military operations of Bedouin tribes and Ottoman troops form a significant chapter in the history of the transition of the Arabs from a subject race to a unified people fighting for independence; these Bedouin rebellions in Eastern Palestine being an important development in the deliverance of Arabia from the Turkish yoke, it was to be expected that the first

prize claimed by the Arabs in return for the help they extended to the Allies should be Transjordan, which was at once an important field of operations and the Turks' weakest point. Though never of strategical importance, Transjordan was the scene of the first Turkish defeat. The Sherif Hussein's family, which headed the revolt, suddenly emerged from obscurity and became a factor of significance in the Middle East. The Hashemite family became the representative body of the Arab world, and its utterances were accepted as authoritative. Then the members of King Hussein's family commenced negotiations with the British military commanders and obtained open and secret promises from his Majesty's Government.

Light is thrown on the status of Transjordan, in the correspondence between General McMahon and the Sherif Hussein. Transjordan does not figure as an independent territory in these papers, but is referred to as a territory closely connected with and dependent upon the western part of the Jordan known as Palestine. After the armistice, Transjordan was under Feisal's sway. The British Government, then at the very genesis of its Middle Eastern policy, found itself confronted with a new situation which obviously called for new tactics, new systems and a reconstructed program. With the occupation of Palestine, Transjordan and Mesopotamia and virtually the whole Middle East came under the Union Jack. The British taxpayer was heavily burdened, as this additional responsibility required the voting by Parliament of large sums necessary for the garrison of the new territories, most of them mandated, which came under the British régime. Transjordan, of all British dependencies and mandated ter-



ritories, presented perhaps the simplest problems, though it was not the easiest to govern. For Mesopotamia and Palestine alone the British Exchequer paid £17,000,000. The then Colonial Secretary of the Coalition Government, at a conference held at Government House, Jerusalem, in March, 1921, decided on behalf of the Administration to entrust the Government of Transjordan to Emir Abdullah, second son of King Hussein. It would be safe to say that only since the appointment of Abdullah has there been anything like a settled régime in the country; the country, indeed, had had a *de facto* British Administration previously, when four British officers were placed in four centres, a rule which proved expensive and impracticable; its results were very unsatisfactory and the British officers withdrew.

#### THE EMIR'S ADROIT MOVE

When King Feisal was deposed from his throne in Damascus, Emir Abdullah came from the Hedjaz to Maan "to watch events in Transjordan." Great anxiety prevailed in those days in Hedjaz quarters as to the future of Transjordan, and Emir Abdullah was delegated by his father, after the rising in the Hauran, to gather around himself all the leaders of the districts. Naturally the heads of all families in Transjordan invited the Emir to stay, pending settlement of the Damascus affair. Emir Abdullah thus became a problem to the British Government. He had succeeded in obtaining the good-will of most of Transjordan's leaders, and his Governorship, though not officially proclaimed, was virtually a fact. The British Government, after consulting the High Commissioner of Palestine, and after long conferences at Government House, decided to offer the official Governorship to Emir Abdullah. During the transition period following Feisal's abdication and prior to Abdullah's appointment, the country became infested with highway robbers and brigands. Political offenders also found asylum there; French exiles roamed the country and anti-French

feeling was high. There was, in addition, an influx of malcontents from Palestine who made Transjordan the centre of their anti-Zionist and also anti-British propaganda, an activity which was difficult to check. Furthermore, there was nothing to insure that local disturbances on the Syrian border would cease, since the tribes of the borders were in the habit of making periodical attacks.

This situation was interpreted by the French authorities as having been created indirectly by the British Administration of Palestine, it being alleged that the officials used Bedouin tribes for the dissemination of mischievous anti-French propaganda. The French Foreign Office at one time expressed itself very strongly on this point, and asked the British Foreign Office to use all in its power to check anti-French propaganda. Emir Abdullah was asked to guarantee that anti-French and anti-Zionist agitation would cease altogether, and that he would cooperate in the establishment of harmonious conditions under the British mandate.

The British Government found itself obliged to lay particular emphasis on the proviso not to conduct anti-French agitation from Transjordan, since it was in those days of unrest that General Gouraud, then High Commissioner of Syria, was ambushed by a group of Bedouin raiders. This attack was interpreted in Syria as one premeditated by Bedouins under British auspices, and created considerable ill-feeling among the French, both in Syria and in Paris.

Emir Abdullah knew that the cessation of anti-French, and for that matter, anti-British and anti-Zionist propaganda in Transjordan was *sine qua non* to his resuming office in Transjordan. He was expressly told by those in authority that it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to recognize the Sherifian family as the real spokesman of Arabic-speaking people. To this end the British Government had proposed Emir Feisal as King of Mesopotamia and had subsidized King Hussein; though emphasizing the independence of Transjordan and declaring this

territory to have no connection whatever with the Hedjaz, the Government desired to nominate a member of King Hussein's family as Governor of Transjordan; moreover, Transjordan was understood to be a British imperial commitment, for the garrisoning of which the British taxpayer had to pay. Emir Abdullah undertook to comply with the wishes of the British Government, and, a few months after he took office as Prince Regent of Transjordan the British Parliament approved a vote of £180,000 as a grant in aid to Transjordan. Emir Abdullah and his Administration were then under the supreme control of the British High Commissioner of Palestine, who represented the mandatory Government. The mandatory power exercised its control through its representative, known as the chief British representative, until recently Mr. S. T. J. Philby, who relinquished his post and was succeeded by Lieut. Col. Cox, formerly Governor of Samaria District; this official acted as Proconsul and liaison officer between the Transjordanian Government and the mandatory Administration. It is hard to define exactly the powers of this executive; he had no vote on the drawing up of the budget, but functioned merely as the officer in charge of British interests, military and political, in Transjordan. Ali Rida Pasha, once Military Governor of Damascus, was appointed Prime Minister, in which post he concluded agreements on postal and customs matters with the Palestine as well as with the Syrian Administration, and acted on all questions of domestic policy and some of foreign policy. Under this system, then, the country's affairs were directed for eighteen months, and general calm prevailed.

Transjordan on May 25, 1923, was officially proclaimed an independent Government with Emir Abdullah at its head. The High Commissioner opened the independent celebrations with a speech on behalf of the British Government. The occasion was the "confirmation of the agreement signed by his Highness the Emir Abdullah when he

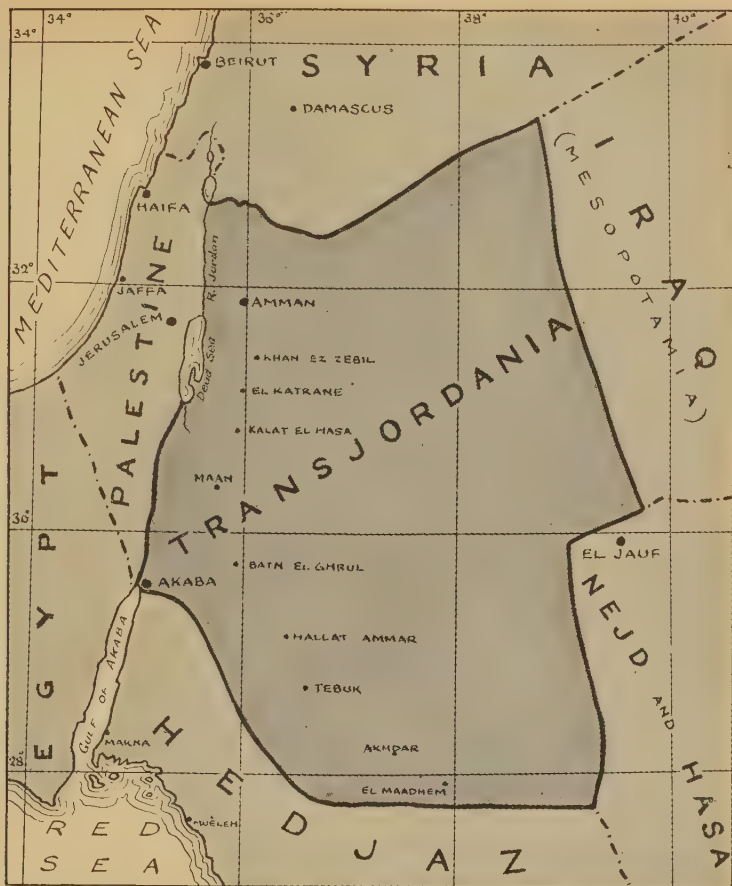
visited King George and his Majesty's Government." The agreement, the High Commissioner, said, provided that:

Subject to the approval of the League of Nations, his Majesty's Government will recognize an Independent Government in Transjordan, under Emir Abdullah Ibn Hussein, provided such Government will be a constitutional Government and will place the Government of his Majesty the King in such a position as will enable it to comply with the international obligations it undertook with regard to this territory by treaty to be concluded between the two Governments.

The High Commissioner referred to the support given to Transjordan in money, troops, airplanes, armored cars and personnel; he alluded to the fact that the British Exchequer had borne a heavy burden on account of its imperial commitments, of which Transjordan was one, and that, faithful to its policy, the British Government was paving the path towards self-governing institutions and giving its help to this end.

The High Commissioner's speech, which was published in the Palestine and Egyptian press, was perhaps the first clear and precise announcement of an official character dealing with Transjordan. Another not less important document was the draft treaty between the British Government and King Hussein. This draft treaty has been the subject of much discussion and speculation in Arabic-speaking quarters; certain sections of it have a vital bearing upon the state and future of Transjordan. In Article 2 the King of Great Britain undertakes to recognize the independence of the Arabs in the Iraq and Transjordan, while the King of Hedjaz recognizes the international obligations entered into and the special position of his majesty's Government in these countries. The relations of Transjordan, vis-à-vis its sister country on the other side of the Jordan, are best understood from the mandate of Palestine. The Churchill mission, which had laid the foundation of a solid policy in all Middle Eastern territories, had realized that certain express provisions had to be made in the documents then awaiting international ratification if the status of the countries concerned was to be deter-





Map of Transjordan, which has been defined as comprising "all territory lying to the east of a line drawn from a point two miles west of the town of Akaba, on the Gulf of that name, up to the centre of the Wady Araba, Dead Sea and River Jordan to its junction with the River Yarmuk; thence up the centre of that river to the Syrian frontier"

mined with any finality. Consequently, a special article was inserted in the mandate of Palestine, Article 25, which entitled the mandatory Government, with the consent of the League of Nations, to postpone or withdraw applications of the provisions of the Palestine mandate. Certain reservations were made, to which this liberty to postpone or withdraw the mandate provisions was subjected, namely, Article 15 (liberty of conscience), Article 16 (control of religious institutions), and Article 18 (no discrimination between subjects of States which are members of the League of Nations).

#### SOVEREIGNTY FOR TRANSJORDANIA

By virtue of this article the British Government issued a ruling regarding Transjordan's status, which was transmitted by the Secretary General of the League of Nations to all members of the League on Nov. 25, 1922.

The decision quotes Article 25 of the Palestine mandate and then adds this paragraph:

The following provisions of the mandate do not apply to the territory known as Transjordan, which includes the land situated eastward to the line extending two miles to the west of the City of Akkaba, to the centre of the Wadi Araba, the Dead Sea and the Jordan down to the junction of the Yarmuk River to the Syrian frontier.

This is the last international document regarding Transjordan, to be filed with the League of Nations. Both in spirit and letter it virtually confers the authority of a sovereign Government upon the mandatory Government.

Events have moved rapidly since these pacts were made and filed with the League of Nations, and much improvement has been effected in all branches of life in Transjordan. It would be no exaggeration to say that Transjordan has proved a success from the standpoints both of the British Exchequer and of the native Bedouins and Fellahin themselves. Emir Abdullah's Government, which has experienced certain changes and transformations, has been more or less a stable Government. Disturbances have ceased and the standard of public security has been raised throughout the country.

Considering the broader aspects of Transjordan's problems, it is well to view the important status of the Hedjaz Railway, which, passing through the country, constitutes a vital factor in the discussion of the nation's international and political situation. It will be recalled that at the Lausanne conference the Hedjaz Railway was one of the stubborn questions which blocked the way to a satisfactory settlement between the Allies and Turkey. Bompard, the chief French representative at the Lausanne conference, made the following statement:

The Governments of France and Great Britain, acting on behalf of Syria and Transjordan, and, desiring to recognize the religious character of the Hedjaz Railway, declare that they are ready to

accept the constitution of an Advisory Council with power to submit to the administrations of the different sections of the railway lying in Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and the Kingdom of the Hedjaz recommendations for the upkeep of the line and for the improvement of the conditions of the pilgrim traffic. This council will include four Moslem members appointed respectively by Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and the Hedjaz and will itself choose its President, and two other members among the nationals of other Moslem countries interested in the pilgrimage. It will sit at Medina.

The recommendations of this council must not be contrary to the provisions of the international sanitary conventions. The French and British Governments declare that, in so far as concerns the sections of the railway lying in Syria, Palestine and Transjordan, any profits realized will be devoted to the upkeep and improvement of the whole of the railway. Any sums left over after such improvement will be devoted to the assistance of pilgrims.

Arrangements were made accordingly by the Palestine and Syrian Administrations for the operation of the railway line crossing Transjordan. The line running within the French zone, as far as Deraa, is under the management of the Syrian Railway Administration, while the remaining line, including that crossing the territory under Emir Abdullah's administration, is conducted from Haifa, the seat of the general manager of the Palestine Railways.

This, then, is Transjordan, a country which has just awakened from a prolonged lethargy, and which is yet to play an important rôle in the revival of the Near East. Under an organized and settled administration, free from disturbances and other fluctuations, Transjordan now is competent to supervise the exploitation of its great natural wealth and to take a constructive part in shaping the history of the next century in the Near East.





# China's Struggle Against Foreign Exploitation

By W. W. ELWANG

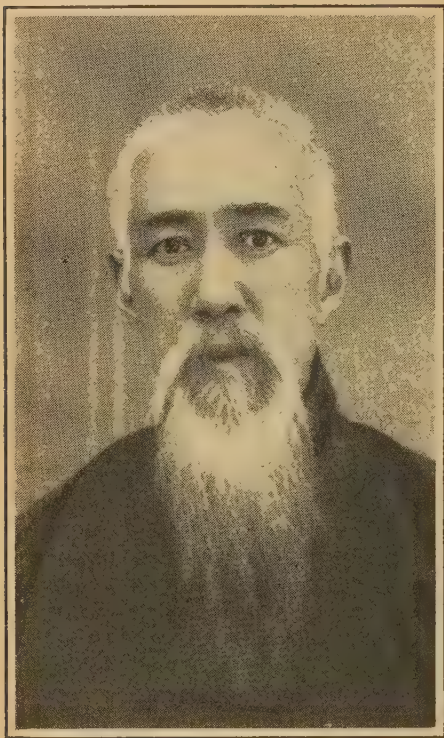
Member of the Faculty of Tsing Hua College, Peking; formerly Professor of English in the University of the Philippines

FOREIGNERS in China, always excepting the missionaries, are usually skeptical about the future of the country. Indeed, commercial people, military men and diplomats are positively pessimistic about it. Why? Chiefly because they know little or nothing about the real China. The Occidental resident in China is hardly ever, even after years of sojourn, in a position to judge correctly things Chinese. As a rule he belongs to the colony of exploitation. Although he knows a little about the coolies and clerks who do his chores, and a little more about the compradores through whom he does business with the native merchants, he is seldom in touch with educated Chinese gentlemen, never penetrates behind the walls within walls of Chinese society, never senses the Chinese soul, and therefore never even faintly understands the strange diversity in harmony of Chinese realities.

This oldest of social orders is now passing through a great and significant transformation, social, religious and political, of which the latter is perhaps the least important. Because the Government, after the surprising overturn of the revolution a few years ago, is still unstable and inefficient, the outlander hectors the authorities and lectures the people with a sangfroid that would be diverting were it not so unbecoming. But even the "childish" Chinese know perfectly well that the hectoring and lecturing are animated solely by the desire to bring their country to that peculiar state of perfection in which the profits of trade and commerce would always go to the lecturers, but never, by any ill chance, to the Chinese. It is no ungrounded fear that the aliens in China

today who are such an army of calamity are so largely because the opportunities for personal profit have of late been so woefully circumscribed.

Chinese politics are especially hard to understand. That they are carried on in "ways that are dark" and with "tricks that are vain" it would be foolish to deny. There is, of course, the usual cleavage between Conservatives and Liberals. The former are mostly old-fashioned politicians and militarists, champions of privilege and guardians of the sacred rights of tradition. The leaders of the latter were, most of them, educated abroad, and upon their good sense, integrity and moderation the future depends. The idea of monarchy has by no means died out of Chinese political thinking, but no Bonaparte is in sight to realize whatever dreams may be cherished in that direction. The Manchus are definitely out of the running, and know it. The new democracy is inexperienced and uneasy, and is beset behind and before by a whole brood of sinister troubles, in part inherited from the old order and in part due to petty local jealousies and the unholy rivalries of factions. Chiefly the path of the republic is made almost unbearably thorny by the problems transmitted to it from a past cursed by Manchu inability to deal with "foreign devils." Thus she finds her best ports "leased" to or owned by foreigners; her coast and inland trade controlled by foreigners; "concessions" for this, that or the other juicy bit of exploitation in the possession of foreigners; her customs and internal revenue pledged to foreigners; long-continued and burdensome indemnities to be paid to foreigners; some of her most valuable territory seized and fortified by foreigners!



SUN PAO CHI  
The new Premier of China

Therefore, and because democracies are usually in trouble, it will take a long time to stabilize this one. From the very nature of the case quick action in China is impossible. China's liberation will only be brought about by a slow process of internal reform, never by political pressure from without, especially not by the shaking of the mailed fists of predatory powers in her face.

#### CHINA'S HANDICAPS

Let it be admitted that much that is so stridently reiterated about present-day conditions is true: the ignorance, poverty and dirt of the masses; the stark materialism of those masses, their only thought being for their daily bread; the political corruption on the one hand, and the lack of genuine patriotism on the other; the enervation of the governing class and the degradation of the governed; the foolish worship of abstract principles incapable of appli-

cation, on the part of the intellectuals, mostly young men educated abroad; the excess of imitation of foreign customs, the wholesale indiscriminate appropriation of Western ideas, on the part of these same intellectuals, and of many more, that detaches them from the life of their people and destroys their power to assist in the much-needed reconstruction of things. Let all this, and much more, be once for all roundly admitted; what then? Does it necessarily follow that if such conditions are not remedied in a year and a day that, therefore, China is about to plunge into the abyss, that there will be irremediable political and economic ruin, chaos, and that to avert such a result there must be foreign intervention? That would be a very short-sighted and superficial conclusion.

One of the pet grievances of the foreigner in China is that the country is disturbed by internal strife. It is true that there has been trouble ever since the republic was so miraculously set up in 1911. Some of it is incited by men with idealistic but chimerical notions. Some of it is mere disturbance of the peace on a large scale by men who are actuated by a policy of pelf and power. But is China the only country in which the great game of government is played for furthering personal ambitions? Is civil war such an unheard-of phenomenon in other parts of the world that China should be constantly pilloried because a few of her peaceful, hard-working hundreds of millions are engaged in a kind of opéra bouffe war with one another? Did the problem of properly relating the functions of the States to those of the Federal Government never worry the American people to the point where they felt compelled to fly to arms to prevent the dismemberment of their country? As a matter of fact, such intelligible signals as are flying in China today seem to indicate that the much needed, and by the mass of the people much desired, unification is coming on apace. Though there may be more civil "war," the country is weary of the strife, and soon, by the sheer weight of public opinion, passively but none the less forcefully ex-

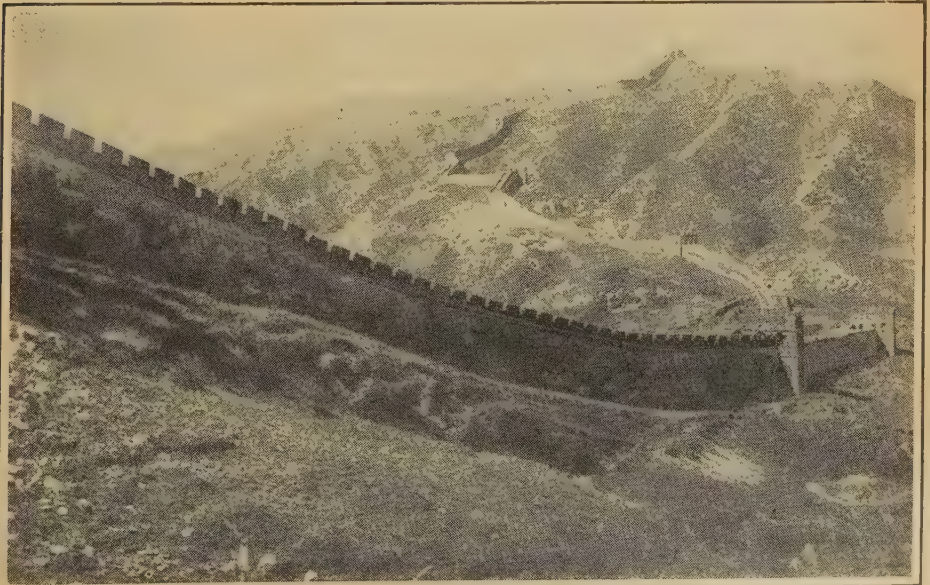


pressed, both misguided idealists and predatory militarists will be compelled to stack arms and to turn to more useful occupations. Nor should the outside world be misled by the exaggerations of Peking diplomats and the Western press: despite bandit outrages and the militaristic disturbances in three or four provinces, life and property are as safe as in large portions of Europe and the United States, if not safer.

Intelligent Chinese are now thoroughly aware that, politically, there is one question so real and practical that it overshadows all the rest. That is, how this much needed and ardently desired unity is to be achieved and consolidated against treason from within and aggression from without. The answer is, of course, by a true system of party government. But coherent and powerful political parties are still wanting. The so-called parties that do exist are mere dissident shifting groups that, as everywhere else, are rather obstacles than aids to stable government. Just what Sun Yat-sen in the South and Chang Tso-lin in the North want, except, indeed, to oust the Chili clique in the middle, is the despair of the on-

looker, be he foreign or native. But the Chinese people have not been deaf and blind, even though mostly dumb, through the years of their intercourse with outsiders. Hundreds of thousands of them are living prosperously abroad, and, having learned there many things, are now enthusiastic propagandists of new ideas among the stay-at-homes. Thousands of others, young men and women, have been educated in the United States, Japan and Europe. These also have looked and listened to some purpose, and are now scattered through the country to tell what they saw and heard. The Boxer troubles, with their consequent humiliations and indemnities, taught the people much. They now know that in order to keep what is their own they must have union. Therefore that union is coming, and the rest of the world may well pray that when it arrives it will not be in the guise of a weary, old, selfish and belligerent nationalism, with its politics of power whose Dead Sea fruit men are now eating with bitterness of heart.

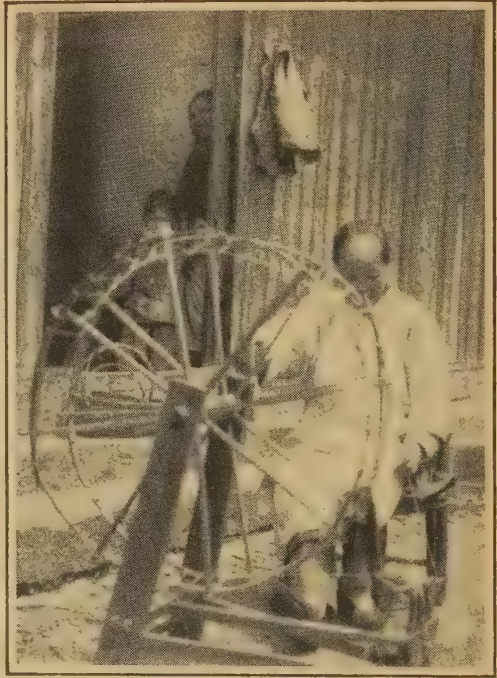
Unification once established, it will be possible, first of all, to bring about the much needed reform in the cur-



A section of the Great Wall of China, the building of which was begun 214 B. C. Its length is 1,400 miles and the height varies from 15 to 30 feet

rency, the regulation of the bewildering monetary situation, and that, in turn, will set industry free. China has never had a national currency. She has none now. The immemorial theory and practice of provincial autonomy, the Chinese doctrine of "State rights," has been too strong for the reformers' efforts to standardize a unit of value. Until quite recently the silver tael, which is a weight, not a coin, was the nearest approach to such a unit that the country knew. But there were far more kinds of tael than there were provinces, and each one differed more or less from all the others in weight and fineness. In Peking alone there were seven kinds. In Shanghai there were six. In large native transactions they are still the favorite medium of exchange. By a decree of 1910 the silver dollar of a certain "touch and weight" was established as the unit, and in 1918 an attempt was even made to introduce the gold standard. Because of popular prejudice these well-meant efforts came to nothing. However, although various silver dollars are still in circulation, in the northern provinces and the Yang-tse Valley the new republican Yuan Shi-kai dollar is gradually driving all other silver dollars from the field.

China is nominally on a silver basis, but for all practical purposes the real standard is copper, with which the business of the bulk of the population is carried on. Since there is no fixed ratio of exchange between silver and copper the relative legal tender value of the two metals is really determined by the law of supply and demand as it makes itself felt here and there locally. Thus the variability in the value of copper, together with the changing moods of silver, plus the eccentricities of much inconvertible paper money, result in a monetary chaos. It is, for example, a constant marvel to the tourist to find the silver token coins divided into "small" and "big" money with mys-



Spinning silk by hand in China—a handicraft disappearing before the advance of industrialism.

teriously different purchasing powers. His astonishment grows when he discovers the Government, through some of its own agencies, calmly repudiating its own most recent coinage. Within the last few months the Post Office and the railroads suddenly refused even "big" token money at its face value. Today a "big" ten-cent silver piece buys only 9 cents' worth of stamps, and, if copper is offered in payment, it takes 10½ cents to buy a ten-cent stamp! A railroad trip that used to cost a dime can now be taken only for a dime plus two coppers.

The recently organized Monetary Commission, with Dr. W. W. Yen at its head, has a herculean task before it. Whatever temporary expedient may be adopted for the amelioration of the situation, a genuine solution must begin with a new and adequate system of national taxation efficiently administered; it must set the industries of the country free by abolishing the burdensome export duties and the predatory likin or



transit taxes; it must find a way to consolidate and guarantee the Government's foreign obligations without that odious supervision of its revenues by outsiders that now so seriously impairs China's administrative autonomy and so poignantly hurts Chinese pride; and it must devise some means by which the heavy mortgage on the indefinite future now represented by the pledged customs and salt gabelle can be lifted. More than one-half of China's indebtedness is due to indemnities that are little short of international burglaries.

### THE FOREIGN GRIP

In the meantime, with the republic's surest and fattest sources of income pledged to the foreigner, that foreigner is keeping her in a state of chronic insolvency, and at the same time making it impossible for the native trader and merchant to compete, upon his home soil, with that self-same foreigner, by refusing to permit the ridiculously low rate of import duty, 5 per centum, to be abolished and to allow the Chinese to manage their tariff to suit themselves.

Why this unwillingness? Is the motive an altruistic ardor to see the Chinese people made happy by the unhampered entry into their country of cheap and needed Western products? Not so! It is, rather, a brutal application of the traditional principle that the East was put on the map by a benevolent Providence to furnish a fine and fertile field of trade for the West.

Following closely upon the heels of monetary reform will come an industrial expansion that will bring with it many startling changes. Chinese industries have existed for centuries in a curious state of arrested development. To this day they remain in the handicraft stage. The explanation of this condition of affairs lay for generations, doubtless, in the intense conservatism of the people, but latterly it has been, rather, a lack of native capital. Plenty of money could be had abroad, of course; but bitter experience of borrowing from the benevolent foreigner has taught the native to be coy about that sort of thing. Borrowed money has always meant borrowed trouble, too much



The porch in front of the former Chinese Emperor's palace



The marble boat on the lake of the Summer Palace, Peking

outside interference with the country's internal affairs, too much loss of valuable territory. Nowadays the Chinese look askance at foreign capital greedy for "concessions"; they prefer to let opportunity go by, to let their abounding mineral wealth, for example, lie fallow rather than to risk further disputes and wars in which the foreigner always wins, no matter what the nature of the native rights might be. The people of China are weary of having their country parceled out into freeholds for foreigners to batten on.

Although some of China's natural resources, her forests, for instance, have disappeared, most of them are undeveloped. Her rich mineral deposits are still practically in a virgin state. Iron and coal fields exist side by side. There is an abundance of water power. There are millions of laborers. Conditions, therefore, are ideal for easy and effective industrialization. All that is needed to make a perfect combination to stimulate industry into activity is cheap and adequate transportation both by land and water. Given that, and these yellow multitudes, now so appalling in their industrial sterility, will break away from their hoary guild system that retards development and will become amazingly productive. Even so, already Chinese

and foreign as well as purely Chinese capital is introducing modern power processes. There are numerous cotton mills in operation. There are silk filatures, flour mills, oil mills, sawmills, smelting works, pencil factories, watch factories, electric light plants, telephone systems, tramways, and so forth. There are approximately 200 coal mines, about 65 copper mines, and not more than 25 iron mines, with up-to-date equipment. There is a profitable railroad, 300 miles long, that was built entirely with Chinese capital by Chinese engineers and laborers. Once let modern power processes be harnessed to the industrial potentialities of China and history will stride forward even more rapidly into a new period of adventure that will soon put an end to the old order entirely. From the humane point of view it is, certainly, to be wished that the advance will be the orderly and peaceful one of evolution from within rather than the violent method of revolution from without, and thus avoid, perhaps, the inequities and iniquities that have led to the central and commanding fact in Western life today, the intensification of the class struggle.

When the Chinese people shall be in a fair way to accomplish that primary requisite of progress, the producing and



storing of food; the accumulation of wealth, they will again turn their attention to what was in the olden time one of their chief interests, education, and in that field also become successful competitors of their Western teachers. In China aristocracy has not been either of descent or wealth, but of learning. For centuries the leaders of the people were the scholars. But in 1905 that remarkable woman, the Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, abolished the old classical examinations and ordered the establishment of a complete system of modern education from the kindergarten to the university. This was the first whiff of the new educational breath to blow over this ancient land. With the coming of the republic the whiff became a great wind from the sea. Education, as in Japan a generation before, became an obsession, but China's disturbed condition and grievous lack of funds have caused the performance to fall far short of the promise. There has been a slowing down of the early rate of progress. This ought to be neither surprising nor disheartening. The general policy of the Government, and of the ever-increasing number of enlightened educators and trained teachers, is in the right direction. The annual educational harvest is slowly but steadily improving both in quantity and quality. With the return to normal political conditions there will be an ever widening and deepening intellectual irrigation of this vast human waste.

During the past decade, with only a few thousands of modernly educated men and women with a common understanding, a common faith and a common hope, there has come about such a

startling change in the mental attitude of thinking China, there are in being such far-reaching social transformations, that there can be no doubt not only that the national mind has been fructified but that the national consciousness has been vivified. The first fruits of the modern education, in the development of which America has played such a leading part, are now beginning to ripen. Young China is struggling with English, Japanese, Russian, French, German and American ideas. Its mind is becoming saturated with the views of leading democratic thinkers of Europe and America. Old standards are going. New ones, adapted to the changing conditions, are yet to be found. But the youthful intelligentsia are, unfortunately, still in the stage where they believe that something startling can be done to bring in the new Chinese heaven and earth. They are strong believers in the incantation of phrases. But their minds are wide open to all the winds of information and of propaganda that may blow, and, if one may judge from the books they read and the articles they write, much of the latter is finding entrance. It would be a service to China if the foreigner were to ally himself sympathetically with the creative energy now in gestation in the country, in order to help guide it safely away from the political and economic exploitation that has brought about the present disastrous débâcle in Europe, as well as to guard its people against the fond delusion, now so widely popular, that by some sort of legislative legerdemain men can get something for nothing.



# *The Creole Citizens of the United States*

By WARDON A. CURTIS

Secretary Board of Publicity, State of New Hampshire

THE discussion of immigration restriction has recently brought the Creoles of Louisiana, as well as the Creoles in general, to the national attention in a manner by no means pleasing to this old element of the population of our United States. Few people outside Louisiana and its neighboring States have any definite idea of what the term "Creole" really means, and in the North the grave error is made of interpreting the name as a description of people of mixed blood.

What, exactly, is the history of this name, how has it developed, and what does it connote today? "Creole" is an old and obsolescent word of French origin, meaning "colonial"; obsolescent in that general meaning and obsolescent in France. There is a Spanish form of the word, "criolla," never much used. One encounters it in the form "creole" in old English books, designating persons of British stock born in the West Indies. It disappeared from English usage mostly because the West Indies, once immensely important to Europe as the source of the world's sugar, faded out of the English mind.

At first "creole" was an adjective rather than a substantive, with a small "c," and was applied to all sorts of things, "creole shoes," "creole horses," in general to products of the colonies of tropical and subtropical America. It was never used in Canada, and although the African was an importation as much as the white, the African's American-born progeny were never called "creole negroes." The "French Creole" was a person of French lineage born in the West Indies or Louisiana. The Spanish form of the word did not establish itself in the continental possessions of Spain. Indeed, except as a rare word used in

books, the French form exists only in the United States and is almost always a substantive.

There has been a change in its application in the French of contemporary France, a number of novelists, conspicuously Pierre Loti, using it to indicate a sang m<sup>ê</sup>l<sup>é</sup>, a person with a small, almost imperceptible strain of negro blood. Many of our Northerners adhere to this erroneous interpretation of the word, for a variety of reasons, the chief one being the former existence of a somewhat notorious musical comedy company from Chicago, called "Sam T. Jacks's Creoles," the members of which were reputed, though not proved, to be sang m<sup>ê</sup>l<sup>é</sup>s. Jacks was said to be a renegade Louisianian, and a genuine Creole, whose name at birth had been Jacques. Jacks is no more, but the meaning he helped to fasten upon the name Creole still persists.

A Creole is a white American of French blood, occasionally with a dash of Spanish. Now and then he may even be pure Spanish and of Spanish speech. L. Parish St. Bernard and Parish Plaquemines (parish is the Louisiana term for county) there are neighborhoods of that stock. It is very obvious, however, that this element is exceedingly sensitive regarding its status as American citizens.

"Spanish!" exclaimed a young man the writer was trying to employ. "I'll have you understand I am an American. My family has been here for 200 years."

"But you were talking Spanish to your brother. I am a Yankee by ancestry, but by birth I belong to this latitude and that language myself."

"Ah, yes, we are Americans, but mine is the first generation that has spoken English."



We purchased Louisiana from Napoleon in 1803 and that tends to obscure the fact that the domain was long ruled by Spain. In 1762, by a secret treaty, Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain. A year and a half later the treaty was made public. The people of the colony resisted the transfer by a passive rather than an active obstructionism, but so successfully that in 1768 the Spanish Governor was constrained to withdraw. Then occurred the French revolutionary movement to establish what would have been the first American republic, a movement frustrated by the arrival of Count Alejandro O'Reilly with an army large for the time and place. O'Reilly belonged to one of the distinguished Spanish families of Irish origin and had been Viceroy of Cuba. A street in Havana is named for him. He gave a party soon after his arrival in New Orleans, arrested the French Republican leaders when they appeared as his guests, and executed them. Spanish rule continued until Napoleon compelled retrocession in 1800. After he had crushed the rebellion, O'Reilly began a policy of conciliation, which was carried on successfully by the Governors who succeeded him. As one means to promote friendly feeling, the Governors encouraged the marriage of Spanish officials and soldiers to French wives.

#### CREOLES ESSENTIALLY FRENCH

Despite some infusion of Spanish blood, however, the Creoles have remained essentially French. Besides the Spaniards they absorbed many of the Anglo-Americans who came in the first quarter century after the cession to the United States. In old cemeteries one finds scores of tombs of men born in Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, even New York and New England, whose epitaphs are in French. They had married into Creole families and their descendants are Creoles.

Practically all Creoles speak French. Some of them, a number decreasing at each census, speak only French. Indeed, many Louisiana negroes speak French and some 60,000 of them speak

no other tongue. Nor are the Creoles, the French-speaking people, limited to Louisiana. The Gulf counties of Mississippi and Alabama—not only a part of the original Louisiana, but the first settled part, for Biloxi, Miss., is older than New Orleans—counties that were part of the Spanish Province of West Florida, which came to us in 1810, are full of Creoles. Rather curious to relate, the Creoles of that region are a great water people, while the Anglo-Americans, descendants of the greatest seafaring race of history, hardly ever look at the water.

It is a musical French that the Creoles speak, less twanging than the French of Canada, less nasal than Parisian French. The Creoles tell you that this is because their French is Gascon, that while the Canadians were from Normandy and Brittany, the Louisianians were from Gascony. Perhaps the climate and the land have something to do with the charming speech. We are always hearing French characterized as a beautiful language. It is especially beautiful in Louisiana. It is a form of vocalization that naturally ripples to the lips in a climate so pleasant, a country so green, with a sky so blue, even at night, with such white clouds, so enormous that no one misses mountains.

Whatever progress other non-English languages may be making elsewhere in our country, French is dying out on a terrain which one might say had been built up in a vast marsh by the laying down of French bones. A few years ago the late Alcée Fortier of the Tulane University Faculty, author of a monumental history of Louisiana, said that it would be dead in fifty years. One hears it on the street, but many families that use English in public use French in the home. French papers, French periodicals are hardly read at all, though private libraries are full of French books or contain little but French books. A generation ago many well-to-do Creole families sent their children to France for part of their education. This was particularly true of the daughters.

The Creoles have perpetuated some of the ancestral French culture, no

doubt, but the observer does not readily put his finger on things traceable to a French origin. It is likely, however, that it is the French rather than the Creoles that have diverged from the Gallic culture of a century and a half ago. It is a well-established fact that colonials change less rapidly in speech and manners than do the mother countries. This is logical enough. The national life of the big mother country is more vigorous than that of the little groups in the colonies, eddies in the national progress. Paul Blouet, who wrote delightfully in English as Max O'Rell, surprised people by saying that Canadian French was not a corrupt dialect, a debased patois, but perfectly good, standard French, good French 300 years ago, standard French in the days when Jacques Cartier sailed out of St. Malo. The French of France had changed; the French of Canada had stood still. There is little doubt that Creole culture has stood still and there is less doubt that their code of life was the simple and somewhat austere code of provincial France, not the hectic code of Paris, familiar to us from Balzac or as portrayed in French novels. The Creole architecture is hardly French in type, but that is simply because it is principally Spanish. When the colony finally began to erect public buildings the Spanish were in control, and so the ancient public buildings and churches are Spanish in type. The private houses very frequently have the Spanish interior court, the patio surrounded by balconies. The exterior balconies are also Spanish, though none of the houses have the Spanish grilled windows, and the enormous manor houses are plainly Americanized French, not Spanish. There is also a Spanish savor in the cookery, due to the plentiful use of red peppers. Creole cookery in general, however, is not French cookery, to which it is superior in art and science.

#### PROUD OF BEING AMERICANS

Within the last few months, as I have intimated, the Creoles have been under observation, if not exactly under fire, as a striking example of an ethnic element, allegedly undigested by the gen-

eral Americanism of the country, one of the supposedly pronounced instances of unassimilation. Because of this, the nation has had its attention somewhat sharply and possibly censoriously directed toward the Creoles.

No mistake could be greater than the belief that the Creoles are not thoroughgoing Americans and proud of it. That the old tongue should live on the soil where it was the spoken medium when the nearest English was in Georgia and Kentucky, should not seem strange or deplorable. Those Gauls did not come into our English-speaking domain. We Americans of the English speech went to them. Theirs is not an ancestry that was yesterday in Europe. They have been here for centuries, speaking French all that time. It may seem a paradox, but their Creole lineage and French speech is regarded as a precious badge of their Americanism. It is an immediate and vivid proclamation to the veriest stranger that they have two centuries of unbroken Americanism behind them. Never is their boast of France, but of their long past in America, of their participation from the inside in all the wars of the Republic except the Revolution and of their participation from the outside even in that war when, under the Spanish Governor Galvez, they drove the British from West Florida, at that time a British possession.

We have long regarded a New York Dutch name with great respect. The possession of a Dutch name has been looked upon as an evidence of colonial ancestry. The same thing is true of French names in Louisiana. Inadvertently refer to a Creole as French and you are at once corrected. "American, sir. An older American than you."

But French is dying out in Louisiana and so, alas, are the Creoles. Once they absorbed the Anglo-Celts, took them into the Creole social order. It is beginning to be the other way about. The Creoles never were a political entity. They could have ruled the State as a close corporation, but they have never attempted to do it. Men of other stocks have represented the State of Washington, have been its Governors. It is a



world-wide phenomenon, this retreat of the occupants of a soil when a new race element appears. It may be the Scandinavian stock of the Orkney Islands that drove out the Celtic Gaels in the days of the Vikings, only in the last century to yield to these Gaels coming over from the mainland of Scotland. It may even be Pennsylvania Germans in a farming neighborhood of Illinois or Wisconsin selling out to newcomers from Germany and moving to South Dakota. A treatise might well be written upon this retreat of the native through all the world through all time, retreating whether the invader comes with sword or pick and shovel, whether the invader levies tribute through the tax collector or the merchant.

The Creoles have retained a hold upon the professions, particularly the profession of medicine. There are a

few Creoles in wholesale commerce, but they are almost absent in retail commerce. There is hardly a French name on a sign on Canal Street, the great retail street of New Orleans. Yet on Elm Street, the great retail street of Manchester, New Hampshire, French names bristle. The French stock are invaders in Manchester, are the invaded in New Orleans. Why do the Creoles not send to New England and Quebec for reinforcements? And how does it happen that the French of the Merrimac and the St. Lawrence never go to that region of the Southern extension of their stock, Louisiana? In the days of the birch bark canoe and the portage at Portage on the Fox and the Wisconsin, Montreal had constant communication with New Orleans. Are the Acadians to be the last of the teeming French of Canada to seek Louisiana?

## Scotland's *Easy Divorce System*

By JOHN BURNS

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THOUGH the term Great Britain embraces both England and Scotland, they are two distinct countries, and in more than one important respect entirely separate. This is made particularly clear by the fact that Scotland has her own system of law, differing in most material respects from that of England, and largely derived from different sources, as well as a separate judiciary to administer it. For this reason it is a mistake to suppose that, because English divorce law has been recently reformed, Scotland is also affected by the change. On the contrary, the differences in the laws relating to marriage and divorce as between England and Scotland cut very deep. Probably they correspond to fundamental differences of character.

Scottish law in regard to the constitution of marriage is as simple and radical as anything can be. Apart from proof, which may sometimes be trouble-

some, the law of Scotland requires nothing more than the consent of a male over 14 and of a female over 12 to make lawful marriage. It requires no consent of guardians, no presence in church, no religious ceremony and the intervention of no priest or minister. It is natural to infer, and it is the fact, that a country which treats the constitution of marriage in this way is certain to regard the dissolution of marriage on very different lines from those which have until recently prevailed in England, and even from those which do still prevail in that country. In fact, the divorce law of Scotland has never been, and is not now, the same as in England. Generally speaking, the Scottish law of divorce is based upon the following principles:

1. There never has been, and there is not now, any difference recognized between the sexes. What is sufficient to

\*A writer to the signet is a Scots law term for an agent or attorney.

divorce a woman is, and always has been, sufficient to divorce a man.

2. That means that one act of adultery by husband or wife always has been, and now is, sufficient to entitle the other spouse to a decree of divorce.

3. In addition there has for centuries been recognized one, and only one, other ground of divorce, namely, desertion for four years continuously. This ground of divorce always applied equally against either spouse.

4. It is no defense that the petitioner for divorce has himself or herself committed adultery. The English notion to that effect seems very quaint and curious to a Scottish lawyer. The law of Scotland deals with a case like that in an entirely different manner, namely, by allowing what are called "mutual" simultaneous divorces on cross petitions. These are not common, for their only purpose is with reference to pecuniary rights. Thus, suppose a woman brings an action for divorce against her husband because he has committed one act of adultery, or because he has deserted her for four years, she is not liable under her own petition to be asked, and she is not bound to answer, the question whether she has herself committed adultery. Any counsel who dared to ask such a question would come under severe judicial censure. Supposing she does answer it and admits or declares her own infidelity, that is wholly irrelevant, and is absolutely no impediment to her obtaining a decree of divorce against her husband.

5. The Scottish law of collusion is entirely different from the law on the same subject in England. Once genuine guilt exists, the guilty spouse may facilitate divorce as much as he or she pleases, and that is not collusion according to the law of Scotland. To amount to collusion there must be the withholding of a just defense or the allowing of a false case to go through.

6. Such a thing as the Court, as a condition of divorce, making a provision for a wife, whether she be the innocent or the guilty party, by giving a

decree for alimony against the husband, is utterly unknown. If the wife wants alimony, she must dispense with divorce and be content with a decree of judicial separation. But here two things should be mentioned, though they are not really qualifications of what has just been said. In the first place, as regards the property of the guilty spouse, divorce operates as though that spouse were naturally dead, and that may entitle an innocent wife who obtains divorce to obtain also substantial pecuniary advantages under the operation of clauses in marriage settlements, or what are known as the "legal rights" of husband and wife under the law of Scotland. Then, in the second place, if the wife is awarded the custody of the children, she will be found entitled to alimony for them against the husband until they attain a certain age.

7. There is, of course, nothing in the law of Scotland to prevent either or both, after a divorce, from remarrying any one else. Further, broadly speaking, it may be stated that neither the innocent nor the guilty spouse will, on any such remarriage, find any serious difficulty in having the most formal marriage ceremony performed by a clergyman of the National Church of Scotland or of any other denomination, except the Roman Catholic Church, and possibly the Scottish Episcopal Church, which in Scotland occupies exactly the position of any other Nonconformist or dissenting denomination.

So much as to what the present position is. Many things are in the air in the way of suggestions for important changes with reference to the position which arises in cases of spouses becoming habitual drunkards, incurable lunatics or convicts. So far as appears, the agitation in those directions has root in England much more than in Scotland. Probably the motive power, such as it is, comes from England, and the Scottish people, having long enjoyed a liberal law of divorce, and one founded on the spirit of absolute equality between the sexes, would probably have continued to be quite well satisfied with it.



# American Women's Ineffective Use of the Vote

By STUART A. RICE and MALCOLM M. WILLEY  
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WITH the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment, the people of the United States undertook their third significant experiment in the development of universal suffrage. The first of these, which accompanied the development of Jacksonian Democracy, extended the franchise to the working classes, who had hitherto been debarred largely by property qualifications from a voice in the actual political affairs of the nation. By common consent, the effect upon the national life was wholesome. The second attempted the enfranchisement of the negro. Adopted against the wishes of the white population most concerned, and in the face of bitter racial antagonism, the Fifteenth Amendment was almost inevitably foredoomed to failure. The third experiment, woman suffrage on a nation-wide scale, has been in progress only four years. It should be obvious that its results upon the political life of the nation cannot be precisely determined for generations to come. But even though woman has been voting for only four years, it is not too soon to assemble some preliminary evidence bearing upon such questions as the following:

What has been the effect on politics of the participation of women?

Have sex lines been drawn at the ballot box?

To what extent have women voted?

Are there sectional differences?

Do women voters favor special types of measures or candidates?

What part are women playing in party organizations?

Are women increasingly seeking and holding public office?

There are those who have already given glib answers to these questions

with an air of finality. It is problematical, however, whether these represent wishes and aspirations or actually have a foundation in evidence. It is quite natural that devoted suffrage workers should ardently desire proof that their achievement has been justified, and should seek to convince the country, not only that the number of voters has been doubled, but that the electorate has been improved in independence and wholesome qualities of citizenship. It is equally natural that anti-suffragists should now be seeking for grounds on which to say: "I told you so." In the face of conflicting opinion and especially in the months preceding a national election, there is need for caution. In politics, as elsewhere, the wish may be mother to the conclusion. Obviously, the results of suffrage are matters of fact and not of opinion. The facts, fragmentary as they are, nevertheless merit review.

First, it must be noticed that no matter what method of estimation is employed, the conclusion is that women have not utilized the ballot to the same extent as men. In other words, the proportion of stay-at-homes is higher among the women. This is apparent on the very face of the election returns. In the Presidential election of 1908, with women voting only in the four lesser States of Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado and Utah, the total vote cast was approximately 14,890,000. The vote cast in the four woman-suffrage States totaled 528,350. Because of the preponderance of men in these States, the number of women voters could not have been more than 250,000. Deducting this number from the total national vote, it is certain that the number of male

voters was well in excess of 14,500,000. In 1920, with women voting in all States, the number of ballots approximated 26,700,000. The population of the country in the intervening years had increased more than 15,000,000, adding at least 3,000,000 males to the eligible voting population. If it is assumed, therefore, that the proportion of the eligible men voting in 1920 was the same as in 1908, and if women voted in the later year in the same proportion as the men, the total vote cast would have been about 31,000,000. The actual vote fell more than 4,000,000 short of this figure.

#### PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN VOTERS

An estimate is necessary because the ballots of men and women are not usually separated at the polls, and the exact number of each sex voting is for the most part unknown. There is one exception to this. In Illinois a separate record of the votes of men and women is kept. The generalization made concerning the country at large gains striking support from this one State. In 1920 the men cast 1,299,261 votes for all candidates for the Presidency. The vote of the women in the same year totaled 795,453. The women's vote was only 61.5 per cent. of the vote cast by men, and but 37.9 per cent. of the total poll. If the number of eligible voters is regarded in the case of each sex as the number of native-born persons 21 years of age and over, together with the number of naturalized foreign-born persons 21 years of age and over, then the Illinois figures indicate that the men voted to 74.1 per cent. of their potential voting strength, while the women voted to only 46.5 per cent. of theirs.

This same stay-at-home tendency of the women voters is also evident in local elections, and on issues which are usually presumed to appeal primarily to the woman voter. On April 1, 1919, the citizens of Chicago passed on the following proposition: "Shall Chicago become anti-saloon territory?" The men's vote was 334,236, the women's 201,056.

It should be remembered in reading these figures that women have had the

ballot only four years, and that most of the evidence just cited comes from elections which took place at the very outset of universal suffrage. Whether or not with the passage of time women will vote in greater and greater proportions cannot be stated; the fact is that at present they do not exercise their privilege to the same extent as the men.

The precise degree to which women vote is not a matter of easy determination, for apart from Illinois it is entirely a matter of estimate. But a sound estimate is entirely possible on the quite legitimate assumption that the proportion of men voting to men eligible to vote since the adoption of woman suffrage is in some way related to the similar proportion of men voting before the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. When such an assumption is made, it is then possible to deduct this estimated male vote from the total vote and thus arrive at the estimated female vote. The latter may then be compared with the census figures which indicate the number of women who are eligible to vote. The estimated proportion of women voters among those eligible is in this way obtained.

Three estimates have been made in this manner, based on twenty-one Northern States, not Territories in 1880, and not granting suffrage to women in 1900. This removes, among other difficulties, that which would be involved if the negro vote were included. The years 1880 and 1900 are selected because the Presidential election coincided with the decennial census. No account is taken in determining the potential vote in each of these years of the number of persons rendered ineligible through incarceration in prisons and asylums, or through inability to meet resident requirements. Less error is introduced by regarding the proportions of such persons as constant. The estimate of 1880 includes aliens eligible to vote. The first of these estimates assumes that in 1920 the male vote was cast in the same proportions as in 1880; the second, that in 1920 the male vote was cast in the same proportions as in 1900; the third, that the male vote con-



tinued to decline between 1900 and 1920 at the same rate that it had been declining between 1880 and 1900.

### STRIKING STATISTICS

In 1880 in the twenty-one Northern and Western States included in the estimates there were 7,330,000 potentially qualified voters. From this number there was polled a Presidential ballot of 6,394,000 votes. Hence the ratio of actual votes to eligible voters was 87.2 per cent. In the year 1920 the number of eligible male voters was 16,605,000. If, as in 1880, 87.2 per cent. of these potential male voters cast ballots, the male vote in the total Presidential poll of 18,528,000 would have been 14,479,000, leaving the vote attributable to women as 4,048,000. Since the number of eligible women voters in 1920 was 16,296,000, the percentage of women voting of those eligible to vote is by this estimate 24.8 per cent.

The number of males voting in 1900 in the twenty-one States was 82.2 per cent. of the number eligible to vote. The same proportion applied to the eligible males of 1920 gives as a second estimate a male vote of 13,649,000, leaving a woman's vote of 4,879,000, or 29.8 per cent. of those entitled to cast ballots.

The rate of decline in the proportion of men voting between 1880 and 1900 was 5.7 per cent. Extending this rate of decline to the year 1920, as the final basis of estimate, the proportion of men voting in the latter year would be 77.5 per cent. On this basis the number of male voters would have been 12,869,000, and the number of female voters 5,659,000. The latter figure represents 34.7 per cent. of the women potentially entitled to vote. The only alternative assumption is that the male vote dropped off during the two decades from 1900 to 1920 at a different rate than between 1880 and 1900. Considering men and women together in 1920, the number of ballots cast represented only 56.3 per cent. of the potential voters.

It should be noted that these estimates are for twenty-one Northern and Western States only. Were the South

included, the proportions given for both men and women would in each case be somewhat lower, for it is well known that in the "solid South," even considering white citizens alone, the percentage of stay-at-homes at general elections is higher than in other sections of the country. Consequently the vote cast in general elections is not an adequate index of political interests in the South. Moreover, it is apparent that the votes in Southern primaries, which are the real measures of interest, cannot readily be included in estimates which are based on a Presidential vote.

It is safe to assume that the actual proportion of eligible women in the North and West who in 1920 availed themselves of the ballot lies within the limits set, on the one hand, by the third estimate above, and the corresponding figure representing the proportion of actual to eligible women voters in Illinois. That is, between 34.7 per cent. and 46.5 per cent. The first figure must be regarded as too low because of statistical evidence indicating that the proportionate male vote has been declining at a somewhat accelerated rate, and that in consequence a larger proportion of the total 1920 vote can be credited to the women. On the other hand, the second figure may be regarded as higher than the general average because the tendency to vote in Illinois is more marked than elsewhere. Moreover, the women of that State had enjoyed limited suffrage at a relatively early date, and had been influenced by extensive educational campaigns designed to bring out their votes. Within this rather definite margin, therefore, the figure representing the women's utilization of the vote must fall. This figure, no matter where it is placed, represents not only less than half of their potential voting strength, but is also markedly less than the corresponding figure for the men. The tradition that woman's place is anywhere but in the voting booth appears to persist.

### HOME INTERESTS IN POLITICS

Though they vote in smaller numbers than men, women lean to the support of certain types of candidates and meas-

ures more definitely than their fathers, husbands, sons and brothers. Woman's initial venture into politics was in pursuit of her home interests. As a mother, she was interested in the schools, and qualified suffrage on matters pertaining to education was introduced at an early date in many States of the Union. A logical expansion of such interests led to a limited political participation in various local matters that pertained directly to the welfare of her family. Now that her political rights have been extended, it is natural that these earlier interests should exert an influence upon her attitude toward broader political issues. Women do tend, in fact, to give expression to the peculiar interests and responsibilities of their sex at the polls, although this expression is less marked than is frequently supposed.

Professor William F. Ogburn of Columbia University, in a study he directed in the State of Oregon, shows that women favor prohibition more than men. On the other hand, women voters, in comparison with men, "were more opposed to the eight-hour day for women, to a single tax, to proportional representation, to the abolition of the State Senate, to extending certain functions of Government, and perhaps to spending public money." (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol 34, Page 413.) In the Chicago vote on prohibition previously cited, although the women who voted were almost two to one against ousting the saloons, the men voted against the ousting approximately four to one. On the "moral" side of this issue the vote of the women was proportionately twice as strong as that of the men.

Edith Abbott has clearly shown (*National Municipal Review*, Vol. 4, Page 437) that the women's vote alone would have nominated for Mayor of Chicago on the Republican ticket in the primaries of 1915 Chief Justice Harry Olson of the Chicago Municipal Court, the "good government" candidate supported by the various "reform" forces in the city. Although the women gave a small plurality to Judge Olson, the men gave a larger plurality to William Hale Thompson, the "machine" candidate,

who was subsequently elected. Moreover, "the returns of the Aldermanic election the same year show that two Aldermanic candidates of the 'gray wolf' type owed their defeat to the women's vote, and that in twenty-five of the thirty-five wards in the city a larger proportion of the women than of the men voted without regard for party affiliations and supported the candidates recommended by the Municipal Voters' League," which represented the "good government" movement.

This all applies merely to State and local questions. Does the same tendency toward independence and the support of "moral issues" appear also in the case of national elections? Once more the State of Illinois supplies the only evidence obtainable.

Illinois, like most Northern States, was carried by Harding by an enormous majority in 1920. Of the men's votes cast for Harding and Cox, Harding received 71.4 per cent. The corresponding percentage of the women's votes was 74.6 per cent. The question arises whether the greater support given by the women to the Republican ticket was a matter of mere chance or whether it represented a consistent tendency throughout the State. That it was the latter is shown by striking and convincing evidence. In almost every county of the State the proportion of Harding votes among the women represented a slight but constant excess over the proportion of Harding votes among the men. That is to say, if Harding's plurality among the men were known in any county, his plurality among the women in the same county could be predicted with almost exact certainty, and this plurality among the women would be slightly but appreciably greater than the plurality among the men. More simply, this means that the women's vote closely corresponded in every county to that of the men's, but in almost every case favored Harding slightly more than did the men's. The women's attitude is further shown in the vote of the minor parties in the same Illinois election. In the following table the total vote of each party, the women's



vote in each party and the proportion of this to the total is given:

PARTY VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN ILLINOIS, 1920, WITH NUMBERS AND PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN'S VOTE.

	Total Women's Vote.	Proportion of Vote.	Vote to Total
Republican .....	1,420,480	564,557	39.0
Democratic .....	534,395	192,005	35.9
Socialist .....	74,747	18,976	25.4
Prohibition .....	11,216	6,336	56.5
Farmer-Labor .....	49,630	12,342	24.9
Single Tax .....	775	258	33.3
Socialist Labor .....	3,471	979	28.2
Total .....	2,094,714	795,453	37.9

Two things stand out: first the high support given by women, relative to men, to the Prohibition Party; second, the weakness of the women's vote in the various so-called radical parties. The first coincides with the evidence already cited to show that women lean to the support of "moral" causes. The second shows that women react against radical economic proposals. This latter conclusion was also suggested in the Oregon study by Professor Ogburn.

The evidence summarized here tends to disprove both of the commonly accepted opinions, on the one hand, that women merely vote the same as men, and on the other that they vote with a marked independence. It shows that, though women's attitudes in politics as expressed in their votes are not materially different from those of men, they do incline more strongly to the so-called "moral" and "civic" side of issues and react more vigorously against the radical. The fact that the differences between the votes of men and women in national elections are not greater is unquestionably due to the circumstances that in these the radical and "moral" issues are not sharply drawn, as they may be in local campaigns. Nevertheless, the slightly greater but persistent support given by women to the Harding candidacy may safely be attributed to the widespread opinion that Cox, of the two candidates, was the more "wet" and the more radical. This all shows that, whether one believes that the women's vote merely duplicates the men's, as many have maintained, or that women are voting independently, depends largely upon where one looks for evidence. One who bases his opin-

ion upon the results of an election in which the "moral" and "civic" or the "radical" issues are not clearly defined (as is generally the case in a national election) will reach different conclusions from the observer who bases his opinion upon an election where these issues are clear (as they frequently are in local affairs).

### WOMEN AND ACTIVE POLITICS

The actual participation of women in politics is two-fold: first, as a definite part of the machinery of the political parties; second, as holders of public office.

Since the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment it has become the recognized practice of political organizations, particularly in the Eastern States, to grant equal representation to the two sexes upon national, State and county committees. In the organization of Tammany Hall in New York City there is in each district a woman co-leader for every man. In New Jersey each political party has a State committee composed of one man and one woman from each county. The committee Chairman in each case is a man and the Vice Chairman a woman. This is the usual form of representation. The National Republican and Democratic Party committees are composed in equal numbers of associate woman members.

Though they are on the party committees in equal numbers, it is clear that at the present time woman's formal representation is wholly incommensurate with her influence in the inner party councils. Party politics is still a man's game, in the pursuit of which he has made a gracious pretense of sharing his power with the new voters. Although an actual majority of the Executive Committee of Tammany Hall, charged with the selection of a successor to the late Charles F. Murphy, was composed of women (because of certain vacancies), the reader of the daily newspaper will find difficulty in recalling mention of their names in connection with the political manoeuvres preceding the election of a new Sachem. Woman's place in the party machine is still very

largely a matter of the male politician's flattery, rather than a matter of her own initiative and achievement. She is at the top in the parties, not because she has fought her way through the intricacies of ward politics, but because there is a new body of voters upon whom the male politicians must smile.

This is not quite true of all sections of the country. In Arizona, for example, there is seemingly no attempt to secure a formal equality of representation in party machinery. What political power the women have they have gained in male fashion on the basis of individual political ability. On the Democratic State Central Committee men have thirty-five places and women six, yet of the four Vice Chairmen of the committee three are women; and in Maricopa County, the most populous in the State, the women have won forty places out of 194 in the election of precinct committeemen. This is more or less typical of the West as a whole, for here the women, having had the vote for a longer period, participate more in the actual tactics of politics. The slighter representation of women on party committees in this section is in reality a testimony to their political ability and is of greater significance than the equal representation of Eastern women, whose supposedly equal voice is largely superficial and a matter of courtesy.

Though women were elected to the National Conventions of 1924 in larger numbers than to the conventions of 1920, it remains true that the power in these conventions was still almost exclusively vested in the men.

#### AS CANDIDATES AND OFFICEHOLDERS

In nomination for public office the women again encounter the old chivalric notion that flattery and honor are their due, but not power. When there is a real chance of election for important office the major parties fail to nominate women candidates. This honor of nomination is reserved for those occasions when the fight is hopeless. The only instances in which a major party has nominated a woman for the United States Senate were in campaigns where

there was not even a remote chance of victory, as with the Democrats in Wisconsin and Minnesota in 1922. The appointment of Mrs. Felton to a one-day Senatorial career from the State of Georgia was an empty flourish.

Nor is it otherwise in the matter of office holding. There are a few exceptions. Women do hold some important positions, both appointive and elective. A recent summary by the Woman Citizen records 84 women legislators in thirty States elected in 1922, five being in upper houses. This is probably double the number serving in any previous year, but is rather insignificant in comparison with nearly 10,000 men holding such offices. Two women have seats in the House of Representatives at Washington, although it must be noted that they were selected to serve for the uncompleted terms of a husband and a father, respectively. In the main, women occupy positions that are lacking in one or both of the two features which make office holding attractive to men—salary and power. The proof of this is indicated when the proportion of women holding salaried county offices is compared with the proportion found in supervisory but relatively innocuous positions upon appointive boards and commissions. In New Jersey, of 788 county offices listed in the Legislative Manual, 19 are filled by women. In contrast, seven women hold membership upon three non-salaried State commissions—the Board of Health, the Board of Education and the Board of Institutions and Agencies. Although three of the ten members of the non-salaried State Board of Education (meeting one day a month) are women, not a single woman is found among the sixty salaried City and County Superintendents of Schools. Of the 150 persons occupying supervisory positions in the State Department of Institutions and Agencies (which more than any other might be regarded as woman's field) 31.4 per cent. of the men are paid for their services, while only 20.8 per cent. of the women receive salaries.

In North Dakota of the 424 county officials two are women, excluding



twenty-nine Superintendents of Schools. (In most Western States the position of County Superintendent of Schools has long been recognized as one to be filled legitimately by women.) In Ohio, of 1,339 Township Treasurers, thirty are women. In Connecticut, which is typical of most of the New England States, woman's office holding is practically limited to school boards and library committees, with an occasional place on a board of health; the salaried town positions are filled by men. In Illinois the only women occupying elective State office are one member in the General Assembly and four of the nine non-salaried Trustees of the University of Illinois. In Wyoming, forty of 272 county officers are women, of whom twenty are Superintendents of Schools. This is a higher proportion of woman officials than is found in most States, which may have significance in view of the fact that Wyoming was the first State to grant women the ballot. And so one may go from State to State. These cases are selected because they are typical. Where salary and power are concerned, a man fills the office chair. Where there is dignity of office but little else, or where there is routine work, little glory, and low pay, the men prove willing to admit women to an equal share in the "spoils of office."

If women are to become an integral part of the political life of the nation, with achievements measured by innate ability without limitations imposed upon the basis of sex, they still have far to go. In the first place, many women have not yet learned to use the ballot. Though at the ballot box they tend to support the "moral" side of the issues presented, they have not as yet worked themselves into the inner circles of party machinery where their influence might be a factor in actually shaping political issues and determining the direction of political development. Women are not political manipulators. Comparative psychologists have as yet developed no evidence to indicate that women are inherently different from men in the qualities essential for political leadership, but what does seem evident is that they lack experience. When participating in politics has become through habit as natural to women as to men, when it has lost its novelty and is taken for granted as a natural function of the adult citizen, women will undoubtedly participate in all phases of political life on a basis of actual as well as nominal equality with men. At least there is nothing in the first years of the universal suffrage experiment to force the conclusion that this cannot come to pass.



# New Immigration Law Over Japan's Protest

By ROBERT McELROY

Professor of American History, Princeton University

THE United States Senate on April 18 passed finally the new Immigration bill, notwithstanding the attitude of President Coolidge, who seconded the Japanese Ambassador's protest against the clause excluding all aliens who were ineligible to citizenship. This embraced Japanese who heretofore had not been designated, provision against the immigration of Japanese laborers having been provided for under the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement."

While the exclusion bill was pending the Japanese Ambassador, Masanao Hanihara, in his eagerness to prevent the passage, on April 10, sent to Secretary Hughes a letter, in which he used these words: "I realize, as I believe you do, the grave consequences which the enactment of the measure containing that particular provision [abrogation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement"] would inevitably bring upon the otherwise happy and mutually advantageous relations between the two countries." The reading of the Japanese Ambassador's letter in the Senate was interpreted as "a veiled threat" and provoked hostile criticism from Senators. On April 17 the Japanese Ambassador wrote another letter to Secretary Hughes, in which he said: "I had no thought of being in any way disagreeable or discourteous and still less of conveying a veiled threat." Replying to this, Secretary Hughes said: "It gives me pleasure to assure you that reading the words 'grave consequences' in the light of their context I had no doubt that these words were to be taken in the sense you have stated, and I was quite sure that it was far from your thought to express or imply any threat."

The President endeavored to persuade the Conference Committee, to which the Immigration bill was finally referred, to delay its becoming operative until March 1, 1925, instead of July 1, 1924, as the bill provided. The suggestion, however, was rejected, and on May 26 the bill was passed intact. The President, in signing the bill, made this comment:

If the Japanese exclusion provision stood alone I should disapprove it without hesitation \* \* \* But the bill is a comprehensive measure dealing with the whole subject of immigration and setting up the necessary admin-

istrative machinery. The present Quota act of 1921 will terminate on June 30 next. It is of great importance that a comprehensive measure should take its place \* \* \* in order to avoid hardship and confusion. I must therefore consider the bill as a whole. \* \* \* For this reason the bill is approved.

## THE NEW QUOTA

The changes in the quotas made by the new act are indicated in the following table, the second column showing the new figures and the third column the changes that will go into effect July 1, 1927:

Nationality or Country.	Present Law.	Two Per Cent. of 1890 With Minimum of 100.	National Origins Under the 150,000 Limit Proviso.
Albania .....	288	100	100
Armenia .....	230	100	100
Austria .....	7,342	990	1,840
Belgium .....	1,563	509	260
Bulgaria .....	302	100	100
China .....			
Czechoslovakia .....	14,357	1,873	1,320
Danzig .....	301	223	100
Denmark .....	5,619	2,782	1,092
Estonia .....	1,348	102	221
Finland .....	3,921	145	498
Fiume .....	71	100	100
France .....	5,729	3,878	2,763
Germany .....	67,607	50,129	22,018
G. Britain & Ireland..	77,342	62,458	91,111
Greece .....	3,063	100	536
Hungary .....	5,747	488	1,259
Iceland .....	75	100	100
India .....			
Italy .....	42,057	3,889	5,878
Korea .....			
Latvia .....	1,540	117	253
Lithuania .....	2,622	302	444
Luxemburg .....	97	100	100
Netherlands .....	3,602	1,637	2,669
Norway .....	12,205	6,453	2,433
Poland .....	30,979	8,872	4,509
Portugal .....	2,465	474	275
Rumania .....	7,419	631	386
Russia .....	24,405	1,792	4,002
Spain .....	912	124	141
Sweden .....	20,042	9,561	3,707
Switzerland .....	3,752	2,081	781
Yugoslavia .....	6,426	735	602
Other Europe .....	86	125	100
Palestine .....	57	100	100
Syria .....	882	100	162
Turkey .....	2,654	100	119
Other Asia .....	92	100	100
Africa .....	104	100	100
Egypt .....	18	100	100
Atlantic Islands .....	121	100	134
Australia .....	279	120	100
New Zealand .....	80	100	100
Japan .....			
Total .....	357,801	161,990	150,903



## JAPANESE PROTEST

The passage of the bill created acute resentment in Japan and demonstrations, in which bitter attacks were made, were held throughout the country. The Japanese Government submitted the following protest, which, as a document of unusual importance, is reproduced in full:

May 31, 1924.

The Japanese Government are deeply concerned by the enactment in the United States of an act entitled the "Immigration Act of 1924." While the measure was under discussion in the Congress they took the earliest opportunity to invite the attention of the American Government to a discriminatory clause embodied in the act, namely, Section 13 (c), which provides for the exclusion of aliens ineligible to citizenship, in contradistinction to other classes of aliens, and which is manifestly intended to apply to Japanese. Neither the representations of the Japanese Government nor the recommendations of the President and of the Secretary of State were heeded by the Congress, and the clause in question has now been written into the statutes of the United States.

It is, perhaps, needless to state that international discriminations in any form and on any subject, even if based on purely economic reasons, are opposed to the principles of justice and fairness upon which the friendly intercourse between nations must, in its final analysis, depend. To those very principles the doctrine of equal opportunity, now widely recognized, with the unflinching support of the United States, owes its being. Still more unwelcome are discriminations based on race. The strong condemnation of such practice evidently inspired the American Government in 1912, in denouncing the commercial treaty between the United States and Russia, pursuant to the resolution of the House of Representatives of Dec. 13, 1911, as a protest against the unfair and unequal treatment of aliens of a particular race in Russia. Yet discrimination of a similar character is expressed by the new statute of the United States. The Immigration act of 1924, considered in the light of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the naturalization laws, clearly establishes the rule that the admissibility of aliens to the United States rests not upon individual merits or qualifications but upon the division of race to which applicants belong. In particular, it appears that such racial distinction in the act is directed essentially against Japanese, since persons of other Asiatic races are excluded under separate enactments of prior dates, as is pointed out in the published letter of the Secretary of State of Feb. 8, 1924, to the Chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives.

It has been repeatedly asserted in defense of these discriminatory measures in the United States that persons of the Japanese race are not assimilable to American life and ideals. It will, however, be observed, in the first place, that few immigrants of a foreign stock may well be expected to assimilate themselves to their new surroundings within a single generation. The history of Japanese immigration to the United States in any appreciable number dated but from the last few years of the nineteenth century. The period of time is too short to permit of any conclusive judgment being passed upon the racial adaptabilities of those immigrants in the matter of assimilation, as compared with alien settlers of the races classed as eligible to American citizenship.

## ABUSE OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

It should further be remarked that the process of assimilation can thrive only in a genial atmosphere of just and equitable treatment. Its natural growth is bound to be hampered under such a pressure of invidious discriminations as that to which Japanese residents in some States of the American Union have been subjected, at law and in practice, for nearly twenty years.

It seems hardly fair to complain of the failure of foreign elements to merge in a community while the community chooses to keep them apart from the rest of its membership. For these reasons the assertion of Japanese non-assimilability seems at least premature, if not fundamentally unjust.

Turning to the survey of commercial treaties between Japan and the United States, Article II. of the Treaty of 1894 contained a clause to the following effect:

It is, however, understood that the stipulations contained in this and the preceding article do not in any way affect the laws, ordinances and regulations with regard to trade, the immigration of laborers, police and public security which are in force or may hereafter be enacted in either of the two countries.

When the treaty was revised in 1911 this proviso clause was deleted from the new treaty at the request of the Japanese Government, retaining the general rule which assures the liberty of entry, travel and residence; and, at the same time, the Japanese Government made the following declaration, dated Feb. 21, 1911, which is attached to the treaty:

In proceeding this day to the signature of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and the United States, the undersigned, Japanese Ambassador in Washington, duly authorized by his Government, has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the emigration of laborers to the United States.

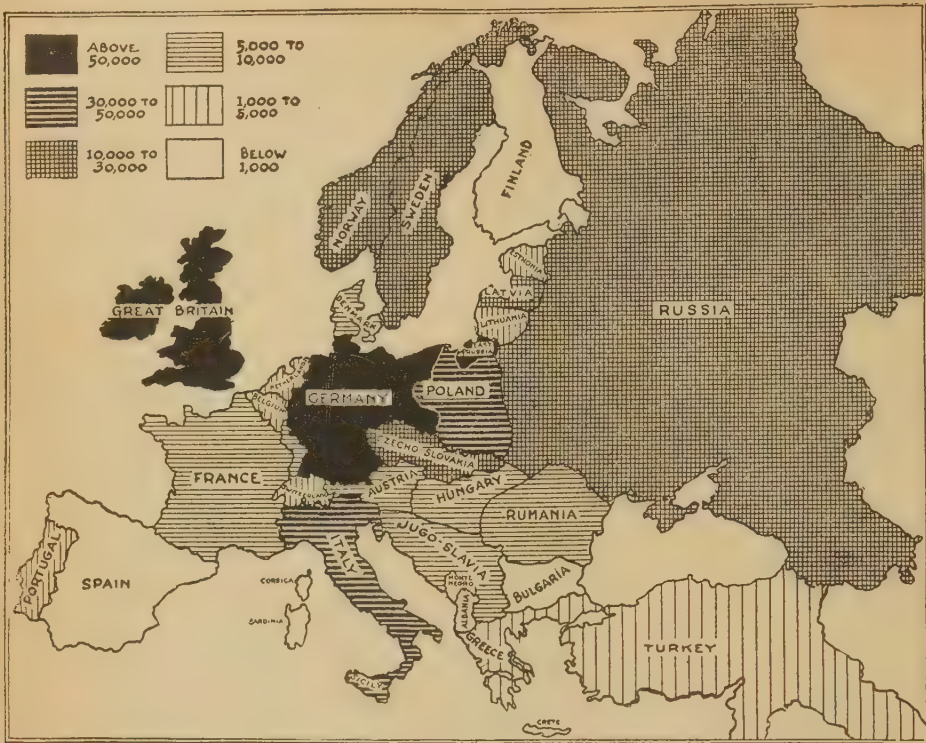
In proceeding to the exchange of ratifications of the revised treaty, the Acting Secretary of State communicated to the Japanese Ambassador on Feb. 25, 1911, that "the advice and consent of the Senate to the ratification of the treaty is given with the understanding, which is to be made part of the instrument of ratification, that the treaty shall not be deemed to repeal or affect any of the provisions of the act of Congress entitled 'An Act to Regulate the Immigration of Aliens Into the United States,' approved Feb. 20, 1907." The Acting Secretary of State then added:

Inasmuch as this act applies to the immigration of aliens into the United States from all countries and makes no discrimination in favor of any country, it is not perceived that your Government will have any objection to the understanding being recorded in the instrument of ratification.

The foregoing history will show that throughout these negotiations one of the chief pre-occupations of the Japanese Government was to protect their nationals from discriminatory immigration legislation in the United States. That position of Japan was fully understood and appreciated by the American Government, and it was with these considerations in view that the existing treaty was signed and the exchange of its ratification effected. In this situation, while reserving for another occasion the presentation of the question of legal technicality, whether and how far the provisions of Section 13 (c) of the Immigration act of 1924 are inconsistent with the terms of the treaty of 1911, the Japanese Government desire now to point out that the new legislation is in entire disregard of the spirit and circumstances that underlie the conclusion of the treaty.

## GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT ANNULLED

With regard to the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement," it will be recalled that it was designed, on the one hand, to meet the actual requirements of the situation as perceived by the American Government concerning Japanese immigration, and, on the other, to provide



Map of Europe showing the numbers of immigrants from the different countries admitted under the present law, which limits the total to 357,801 a year

against the possible demand in the United States for a statutory exclusion which would offend the just susceptibilities of the Japanese people. The arrangement came into force in 1908. Its efficiency has been proved in fact. The figures given in the annual report of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration authoritatively show that during the fifteen years from 1908 to 1923 the excess, in number, of Japanese admitted to the continental United States over those who departed was no more than 8,681 altogether, including not only immigrants of the laboring class, but also merchants, students and other non-laborers and non-immigrants, the numbers of whom naturally increased with the growth of commercial, intellectual and social relations between the two countries. If even so limited a number should in any way be found embarrassing to the United States, the Japanese Government have already expressed their readiness to revise the existing arrangement with a view to further limitation of emigration.

Unfortunately, however, the sweeping provisions of the new act, clearly indicative of discrimination against Japanese, have made it impossible for Japan to continue the undertakings assumed under the "Gentlemen's Agreement." An understanding of friendly cooperation, reached after long and comprehensive discussions between the Japanese and American Governments, has thus been abruptly overthrown by legislative action on the part of the United States. The patient, loyal and scrupulous observance by Japan for more than sixteen years of these self-denying regulations, in the interest of good relations between the two countries, now seems to have been wasted.

It is not denied that, fundamentally speaking, it lies within the inherent sovereign power of each State to limit and control immigration to its own domains; but when, in the exercise of

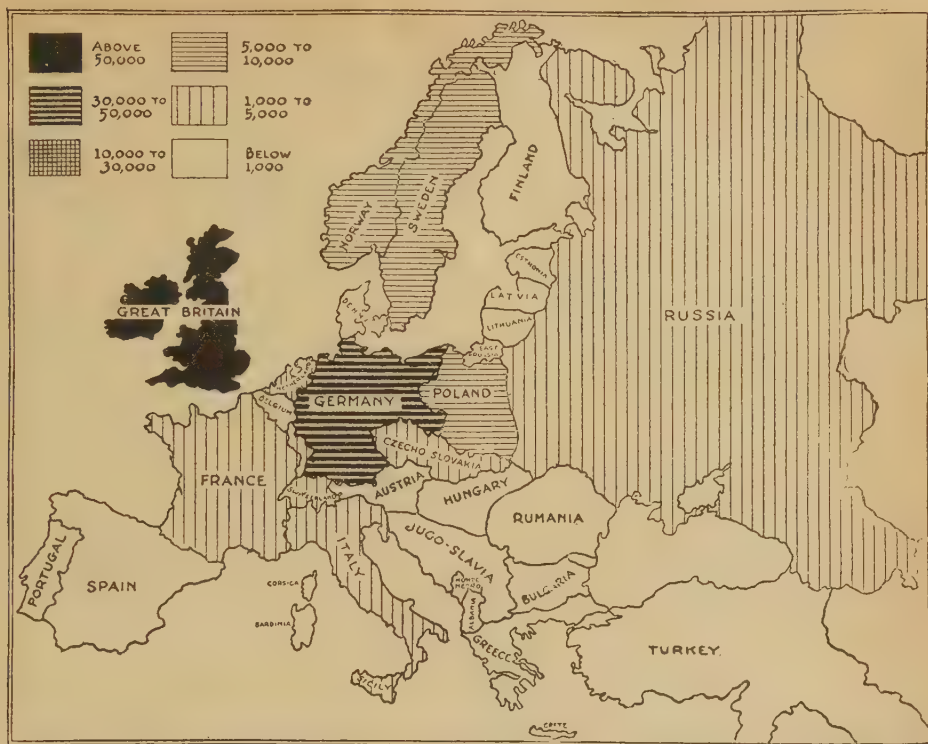
such right, an evident injustice is done to a foreign nation in disregard of its proper self-respect, of international understandings or of ordinary rules of comity, the question necessarily assumes an aspect which justifies diplomatic discussion and adjustment.

Accordingly, the Japanese Government consider it their duty to maintain and to place on record their solemn protest against the discriminatory clause in Section 13 (c) of the Immigration act of 1924 and to request the American Government to take all possible and suitable measures for the removal of such discrimination.

#### DEMONSTRATIONS IN TOKIO

The United States Ambassador to Japan, Cyrus E. Woods, who had made no secret of his disapproval of our proposed exclusion policy, presented his resignation as necessary on account of the illness of a relative, and rumors were current to the effect that Ambassador Hanihara was to be recalled by the Japanese Government. These rumors were promptly and positively denied. A little later, however, it was announced that he would visit Tokio on leave of absence. Before Ambassador Woods took final leave of Tokio, on June 5, cheered by 10,000 Japanese, five Japanese patriots had committed suicide (*hara-kiri*), this being the ancient Oriental method of emphasizing the honesty of a protest. The Japanese press was flooded with patriotic appeals and de-





Map showing the numbers of immigrants that will be admitted into the United States from the different countries under the new law, which will limit the total to 161,990 a year

nunciations of the "racial insult." The same evening 25,000 Japanese took part in an anti-exclusion demonstration in Tokio and formed an organization called the "Kokumin Taibekai," which announced the following program:

Making the anti-exclusion movement nationwide by sending representatives to all parts of the country and calling protest meetings.

Collecting a national anti-exclusion campaign fund.

Appointing an executive committee of 350 to direct the campaign.

Holding memorial services for the unknown subject of the Mikado who committed harakiri near the ruins of the American Embassy.

It was reported that the situation had become so serious that the United States Government had arranged with shipping companies for three special ships to remove Americans from Japan before July 1.

It is now well to remember not only President Coolidge's statement that he had "to consider the bill as a whole," but the equally imperative necessity to consider the world as a whole, or be hopelessly at variance with our lofty professions of the past. The Paris *Matin* on May 26 declared: "What will hurt Japan's national pride is the manner in which the measure has placed Japan in the same rank with other Asiatic countries." This has proved abundantly true, but in

considering all the world, we must not forget that whereas there are 55,000,000 Japanese, there are 865,000,000 other Asiatics whose point of view may resemble that of Dr. Syngman Rhee, leader of the Korean revolutionists, who declared:

The Japanese exclusion law seems to be an accomplished fact and the inevitable result of the domineering and overbearing attitude of the Japanese toward all peoples. While the exclusion act includes all Orientals, it does not produce a practical effect against Koreans. We welcome the exclusion act, carrying with it the annulment of the gentlemen's agreement. We are at last placed on a basis of equality with the Japanese.

China, too, with a population almost half that of Asia, has made it quite clear that a Japan which excludes Chinese immigrants can expect no sympathy from her.

Japan's insistence upon the right to a privilege long accorded her, and never before accorded to any nation, has caused us almost to forget that our Immigration bill concerns not Japan alone, but all the nations of the world, most of them directly, but all of them indirectly. The dykes raised against the normal alien flow are bound to have a world-wide effect. In the decade 1901-1910, Italy sent us 2,045,000 of her nationals, to our gain and her own. Austria-Hungary sent 2,145,000 and Russia 1,597,000, but these latter

are now no longer patent factors in the problem, although their nationals still seek the chance which America once offered. German immigrants averaged 34,000 annually during the same decade. Ireland also deplores changes by which thousands of Irish see their dream of America fade through a policy which, despite the new flag, counts the Irish in the British quota.

#### EUROPEAN OPINION

European sentiment regarding the issue was thus described in a dispatch from the Paris correspondent of The New York Times on June 4: "If the Japanese can bring their case before the League of Nations, or the World Court, the United States will, perhaps, get an illustration that aloofness from world affairs has other aspects than those of happy repose. \* \* \* Geneva would hear all the details of the Japanese case, but who would present the American answer in a conclave where are gathered fifty-two nations of the world?" If Japan can make Europe believe that America's annulment of the gentlemen's agreement is but the result of race prejudice, she will enormously increase the sympathy which she already enjoys. The European nations, Great Britain alone excepted, neither understand nor approve race prejudice. There white, black, yellow, brown and red enjoy the same standing. In view of this it is unwise to allow our own people, or the people of other lands, to believe either that our new immigration law is merely an expression of race prejudice, or that it represents a tendency toward that isolation policy which we have so long scorned in the China and Japan of the past. Upon the surface the Johnson bill appears to cut down immigration from 370,000 a year to about 150,000, the quota being 2 per cent. of those admitted from each nation in 1890. But the numbers actually eligible under the new law include also the non-quota class in which appear unmarried children under 18 years of age, and the wives of American citizens, together with those returning after temporary absence abroad, aggregating a considerable number. The women and children alone are estimated at about 15,000 from Europe. Furthermore, native-born children of any of the countries of the Western Hemisphere are to be admitted without numerical limit, and these are estimated, on the basis of the last two years' experience, at 200,000. As a result, our total annual immigration under the Johnson bill will probably reach 500,000 instead of 150,000.

Perhaps the clearest vision of what the world is thinking upon the really international question of immigration, however, comes from the history of Premier Mussolini's International Conference on Immigration at Rome, a conference inspired by the spirit of our immigration bill when pending, and representing fifty-eight nations. The purpose of the conference was to put the question of immigration and emigration upon a basis that

would breed international comity rather than ill-feeling and hostility. As honorary President, Mussolini made what the American politician would call the keynote speech, declaring:

The wholesome doctrine that countries of emigration must not meddle with the affairs of foreign countries. \* \* \* Countries of immigration must not extend their intervention even indirectly outside their territory. Governments, however, out of deference to the laws of humanity, should get together and attempt to arrange matters so that the removal of individuals from one country to another may take place with reciprocal satisfaction and in mutual interest. Emigrants must not be considered as ordinary cargo. \* \* \* The object of this conference is to establish general principles on which such agreements between various Governments shall be founded.

The speech contained one paragraph which appeared to be a carefully veiled reference to the Johnson bill:

The conditions of the world's labor market are at present favorable to restrictionist tendencies which have manifested themselves in certain countries, and we have no means of altering this state of things. As, however, this condition of mind in these countries cannot last long, and as the world shows ever clearer symptoms of settling down economically, it is obvious that we should sow seed which shall grow into clearer and wider understanding between all peoples in the field of labor.

#### JAPANESE FARMERS IN AMERICA

K. K. Kawakami, a Japanese newspaper correspondent at Washington, discussing the new law, strongly opposes retaliation and reprisal and advocates liberalization of Japan's own laws on immigration, which forbid foreigners to own land, though they may secure 50-year leases. The total amount of land owned by foreign corporations in Japan at present is 656 acres; 69 foreigners, including 20 Americans, own 195 acres; 336 aliens, including 55 Americans, hold 430 acres under perpetual lease, a relic of the extra-territoriality obtained by foreigners when Japan first entered into international relations. A new law is now proposed to deny ownership or leases to aliens whose native States deny the same privilege to the Japanese. Mr. Kawakami estimates the Japanese population in the State of Washington at 17,000, with 2,500 farmers cultivating 20,500 acres under lease. No Japanese own any land in Washington, as that State denies land ownership to aliens. In Oregon there are 224 Japanese farmers who cultivate 10,000 acres. In California, out of 3,426,256 inhabitants, 2 per cent. are Japanese, or approximately 68,000. Of its total land area of 99,617,280 acres, about 28,000,000 acres are farm land, of which 1.6 per cent. (or about 458,000 acres) was cultivated by Japanese. Japanese individuals own 26,988 acres; corporations with Japanese and American stockholders own 47,781 acres. Land leased by Japanese amounts to 192,150 acres; cultivated under crop sharing contract, 191,000 acres; cultivated under labor contract, 70,137 acres.



# The Republican National Convention

Continued from Page 544

By executive order the appointment of Presidential Postmasters has been placed on the merit basis similar to that applying to the classified service.

We favor the classification of Postmasters in first, second and third class Post Offices and the placing of the prohibition enforcement forces within the classified civil service without necessarily incorporating the present personnel.

**Foreign Relations**—The Republican Party reaffirms its stand for agreement among the nations to prevent war and preserve peace. As an important step in this direction we endorse the Permanent Court of International Justice and favor the adherence of the United States to this tribunal as recommended by President Coolidge. This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume the obligations under the Covenant of the League. On this we stand.

While we are unwilling to enter into political commitments which would involve us in the conflict of European policies, it should be the purpose and high privilege of the United States to continue to cooperate with other nations in humanitarian efforts in accordance with our cherished traditions.

The basic principles of our foreign policy must be independence without indifference to the rights and necessities of others and cooperation without entangling alliances. This policy, overwhelmingly approved by the people, has been vindicated since the end of the great war.

America's participation in world affairs under the administration of President Harding and President Coolidge has demonstrated the wisdom and prudence of the national judgment. A most impressive example of the capacity of the United States to serve the cause of world peace without political affiliations was shown in the effective and beneficent work of the Dawes commission toward the solution of the perplexing question of German reparations.

The first conference of great powers in Washington called by President Harding accomplished the limitation of armaments and the readjustment of the relations of the powers interested in the Far East. The conference resulted in an agreement to reduce armaments, relieved the competitive nations involved from the great burdens of taxation arising from the construction and maintenance of capital battleships, assured a new, broader and better understanding in the Far East; brought the assurance of peace in the region of the Pacific and formally adopted the policy of the open door for trade and commerce in the great markets of the Far East.

The historic conference paved the way to avert the danger of renewed hostilities in Europe and to restore the necessary economic stability. While the military forces of America have been reduced to a peace footing, there has been an increase in the land and air forces abroad which constitutes a continual menace to the peace of the world and a bar to the return of prosperity.

We firmly advocate the calling of a conference on the limitation of land forces, the use of submarines and poison gas, as proposed by President Coolidge, when, through the adoption of a permanent reparations plan, the conditions in Europe will make negotiations and cooperation opportune and possible.

By treaties of peace safeguarding our rights and without derogating those of our former associates in arms, the Republican Administration ended the war between this country and Germany and Austria. We have concluded and signed with other nations during the last three

years more than fifty treaties and international agreements in the furtherance of peace and good-will.

New sanctions and new proofs of permanent accord have marked our relations with all Latin America. The long standing controversy between Chile and Peru has been advanced toward settlement by its submission to the President of the United States as arbitrator and with the helpful cooperation of this country a treaty has been signed by the representatives of sixteen American republics, which will stabilize conditions on the American continent and minimize the opportunities for war.

Our difficulties with Mexico have happily yielded to a most friendly adjustment. Mutual confidence has been restored and a pathway for that friendliness and helpfulness which should exist between this Government and the Government of our neighboring republic has been marked. Agreements have been entered into for the determination by judicial commissions of the claims of the citizens of each country against the respective Governments. We can confidently look forward to more permanent and more stable relations with this republic that joins for so many miles our southern border.

Our policy, now well defined, of giving practical aid to other peoples without assuming political obligations has been conspicuously demonstrated. The ready and generous response of America to the needs of Japan gave evidence of our helpful interest in the welfare of the distressed in other lands.

The work of our representatives in dealing with subjects of such universal concern as the traffic in women and children, the production and distribution of narcotic drugs, the sale of arms, and in matters affecting public health and morals, demonstrated that we can effectively do our part for humanity and civilization without forfeiting, limiting or restricting our national freedom of action.

The American people do cherish their independence, but their sense of duty to all mankind will ever prompt them to give their support, service and leadership to every cause which makes for peace and amity among the nations of the world.

**Foreign Debts**—In fulfillment of our solemn pledge in the national platform of 1920 we have steadfastly refused to consider the cancellation of foreign debts. Our attitude has not been that of any oppressive creditor seeking immediate return and ignoring existing financial conditions, but has been based on the conviction that a moral obligation such as was incurred should not be disregarded.

We stand for settlements with all debtor countries similar in character to our debt agreement with Great Britain. That settlement, achieved under a Republican Administration, was the greatest international financial transaction in the history of the world. Under the terms of the agreement the United States now receives an annual return upon \$4,600,000,000 owing to us by Great Britain with a definite obligation of ultimate payment in full.

The justness of the basis employed has been formally recognized by other debtor nations.

Great nations cannot recognize or admit the principle of repudiation. To do so would undermine the integrity essential for international trade, commerce and credit. Thirty-five per cent. of the total foreign debt is now in process of liquidation.

**The Tariff**—We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff to extend needed protection to our productive industries. We believe in protection as a national policy, with due and equal

regard to all sections and to agriculture, industries and occupations. It is only by adherence to such a policy that the well-being of the consumers can be safeguarded and that there can be assured to American agriculture, to American labor and to American manufacturers a return to perpetuate American standards of life. A protective tariff is designed to support the high American economic level of life for the average family and to prevent a lowering to the levels of economic life prevailing in other lands.

It is the history of the nation that the protective tariff system has ever justified itself by restoring confidence, promoting industrial activity and employment, enormously increasing our purchasing power and bringing increased prosperity to all our people.

The tariff protection to our industry works for increased consumption of domestic agricultural products by an employed population instead of one unable to purchase the necessities of life. Without the strict maintenance of the tariff principle our farmers will need always to compete with cheap lands and cheap labor abroad and with the lower standards of living.

The enormous value of the protective principle has once more been demonstrated by the emergency tariff act of 1921 and the tariff act of 1922.

We assert our belief in the elastic provision adopted by Congress in the tariff act of 1922 providing for a method of readjusting the tariff rates and the classifications in order to meet changing economic conditions when such changed conditions are brought to the attention of the President by complaint or application.

We believe that the power to increase or decrease any rate of duty provided in the tariff furnishes a safeguard, on the one hand, against excessive taxes, and, on the other other hand, against too high customs charges.

The wise provisions of this section of the tariff act afford ample opportunity for tariff duties to be adjusted after a hearing in order that they may cover the actual differences in the cost of production in the United States and the principal competing countries of the world.

We also believe that the application of this provision of the tariff act will contribute to business stability by making unnecessary general disturbances which are usually incident to general tariff revision.

**Agriculture**—In dealing with agriculture the Republican Party recognizes that we are faced with a fundamental national problem and that the prosperity and welfare of the nation as a whole is dependent upon the prosperity and welfare of our agricultural population.

We recognize our agricultural activities are still struggling with adverse conditions that have brought about distress. We pledge the party to take whatever steps are necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture, industry and labor, which was destroyed by the Democratic Party through an unfortunate administration of legislation passed as wartime methods.

We affirm that under the Republican Administration the problems of the farmer have received more serious consideration than ever before, both by definite executive action and by Congressional action, not only in the field of general legislation but also in the enactment of laws to meet emergency situations.

The restoration of general prosperity and the purchasing power of our people through tariff protection has resulted in an increased domestic consumption of farm products, while the price of many agricultural commodities are above the war price level by reason of direct tariff protection.

Under the leadership of the President at the most critical time, a corporation was organized by private capital, making available \$100,000,000 to assist the farmers of the Northwest.

In realization of the disturbance in the agricultural export market, the result of the financial depression in Europe, and appreciating that the export field would be enormously improved by economic rehabilitation and the resulting increased consuming power, a sympathetic support and direction was given to the work of the

American representatives on the European Reparation Commission.

The revival in 1921 of the War Finance Corporation, with loans of over \$300,000,000, averted in 1921 a complete collapse in the agricultural industry.

We have established new intermediate credit banks for agriculture and increased the capital of the Federal Farm Loan system. Emergency loans have been granted to drought-stricken areas. We have enacted into law the Cooperative Marketing act, the Grain Futures and Packer Control acts; given to agriculture direct representation on the Federal Reserve Board and on the Federal Aid Commission. We have greatly strengthened our foreign marketing service for the disposal of our agricultural products.

The crux of the problem, from the standpoint of the farmer, is the net profit he receives after his outlay. The process of bringing the average prices of what he buys and what he sells closer together can be promptly expedited by reduction in taxes, steady employment in industry and stability in business.

This process can be expedited by lower freight rates, by better marketing through cooperative efforts and a more scientific organization of the physical human machinery of distribution and by a greater diversification of farm products.

We promise every assistance in the reorganization of the market system on sounder and more economical lines, and, where diversification is needed, Government assistance during the period of transition. Vigorous efforts of this Administration toward broadening our exports market will be continued.

The Republican Party pledges itself to the development and enactment of measures which will place the agricultural interests of America on a basis of economic equality with other industry to assure its prosperity and success. We favor adequate tariff protection to such of our agricultural products as are threatened by competition. We favor, without putting the Government into business, the establishment of a Federal system of organization for cooperative marketing of food products.

**Mining**—The mining industry has experienced a period of depression as the result of the abnormal economic conditions growing out of the war. This Administration has accomplished much in improving the conditions affecting this great fundamental industry and pledges itself to continue its effort in this direction.

**Highways**—The Federal Aid Road act, adopted by the Republican Congress in 1921, has been of inestimable value to the development of the highway system of the several States and of the nation. We pledge a continuation of this policy of Federal cooperation with the States in highway building.

We favor the construction of roads and trails in our national forests necessary to their protection and utilization. In appropriations, therefore, the taxes which these lands would pay if taxable should be considered as a controlling factor.

**Labor**—The increasing stress of industrial life, the constant and necessary efforts, because of world competition, to increase production and decrease costs, have made it specially incumbent on those in authority to protect labor from undue exactions.

We commend Congress for having recognized this possibility in its prompt adoption of the recommendation of President Coolidge for a constitutional amendment authorizing Congress to legislate on the subject of child labor and we urge the prompt consideration of that amendment by the Legislatures of the various States.

There is no success great enough to justify the employment of women in labor under conditions which will impair their natural functions.

We favor high standards for wage, working and living conditions among the women employed in industry.

We pledge a continuance of the successful efforts of the Republican Administration to



eliminate the seven-day, twelve-hour work week in industry. We regard with satisfaction the elimination of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry, and the agreement eliminating the seven-day work week of alternate thirteen and eleven hours, accomplished through the efforts of Presidents Harding and Coolidge. We declare our faith in the principle of the eight-hour day.

We pledge a continuation of the work of rehabilitating workers in industry as conducted by the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and favor adequate appropriations for the purpose.

We favor a broader and better system of vocational education, a more adequate system of Federal free employment agencies, with facilities for assisting the movements of seasonal and migratory labor, including farm labor, with ample organization for bringing the man and his job together.

**Railroads**—The people demand and are entitled to have prompt and efficient transportation at the lowest rates consistent with good service and a reasonable return upon the value of the property devoted to public service.

We believe that the American people demand, and we favor, a careful and scientific readjustment of railroad rate schedules with a view to the encouragement of agriculture and basic industries, without impairment of railroad service.

The present laws regulating railroads, which were enacted to meet post-war conditions, should be modified from time to time as experience shows the necessity thereof.

The consolidation of railroads into fewer competitive systems, subject to the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, should be provided for.

The Labor Board provisions of the present law should be amended whenever it appears from experience that such action is necessary. Collective bargaining, mediation and voluntary arbitration are the most important steps in maintaining peaceful labor relations and should be encouraged. We do not believe in compulsory action at any time in the settlement of labor disputes.

Public opinion must be the final arbiter in any crisis which so vitally affects public welfare as the suspension of transportation.

Therefore the interests of the public require the maintenance of an impartial tribunal which can in an emergency make an investigation of the facts and publish its conclusions. This is essential as a basis for popular judgment.

We favor a stable, consistent and constructive policy toward our railroads.

**Government Control**—The prosperity of the American nation rests on the vigor of private initiative which has bred a spirit of independence and self-reliance. The Republican Party stands now, as always, against all attempts to put the Government into business.

American industry should not be compelled to struggle against Government competition. The right of the Government to regulate, supervise and control public utilities and public interests we believe should be strengthened, but we are firmly opposed to the nationalization or Government ownership of public utilities.

**Coal**—The price and a constant supply of this essential commodity are of vital interest to the public. The Government has no constitutional power to regulate prices, but can bring its influence to bear by the powerful instrument afforded by full publicity.

When through industrial conflict its supply is threatened, the President should have authority to appoint a commission to act as mediators and as a medium for voluntary arbitration. In the event of a strike, the control of distribution must be invoked to prevent profiteering.

**Merchant Marine**—The Republican Party stands for a strong and permanent merchant marine built by Americans, owned by Americans and manned by Americans, to secure the necessary contact with world markets for our surplus agricultural products and manufactures; to protect our shippers and importers from exor-

bitant ocean freight rates and to become a powerful arm of our national defense.

That part of the merchant marine now owned by the Government should continue to be improved in its economic and efficient management, with reduction of the losses now paid by the Government through taxation until it is finally placed on so sound a basis that, with ocean freight rates becoming normal, due to improvement in international affairs, it can be sold to American citizens.

**Waterways, Flood Control and Water Power**—Fully realizing the vital importance of transportation in both cost and service to all our people, we favor the construction of the most feasible waterways from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico and the improvement and development of rivers, harbors and waterways, inland and coastwise, to the fullest extent justified by the presence and potential tonnage available.

We favor a comprehensive survey of the conditions under which the flood waters of the Colorado River may be controlled and utilized for the benefit of the people of the States which border thereon.

The Federal Water Power act establishes national water power policy and the way has thereby been opened for the greatest water power development in history under conditions which preserve initiative of our people, yet protect the public interests.

**The World War Veterans**—We reaffirm the admiration and gratitude which we feel for soldiers and sailors; the Republican Party pledges a continual and increasing solicitude for all those suffering any disability as a result of service to the United States in time of war. No country and no Administration has ever shown a more generous disposition in the care of its disabled or more thoughtful consideration in providing a sound administration for the solution of the many problems involved in making intended benefits fully, directly and promptly available to the veterans.

The confusion, inefficiency and maladministration existing heretofore since the establishment of this Government agency have been cured and plans are being actively made looking to a further improvement in the operation of the bureau by the passage of new legislation.

The basic statute has been so liberalized as to bring within its terms 100,000 additional beneficiaries. The privilege of hospitalization in Government hospitals, as recommended by President Coolidge, has been granted to all veterans irrespective of the origin of disability, and over \$50,000,000 has been appropriated for hospital construction, which will provide sufficient beds to care for all.

Appropriations totaling over \$1,100,000,000 made by the Republican Congress for the care of the disabled evidences the unmistakable purpose of the Government not to consider costs when the welfare of these men is at stake. No legislation for the benefit of the disabled soldier proposed during the last four years by veterans' organizations has failed to receive consideration.

We pledge ourselves to meet the problems of the future affecting the care of our wounded and disabled in a spirit of liberality and with that thoughtful consideration which will enable the Government to give to the individual veterans that full measure of care guaranteed by an effective administration machinery to which his patriotic services and sacrifices entitle him.

**Conservation**—We believe in the development, effective and efficient, whether of oil, timber, coal or water power resources of this Government, only as needed and only after the public need has become a matter of public record, controlled with a scrupulous regard and ever vigilant safeguards against waste, speculation and monopoly.

The natural resources of the country belong to all the people and are a part of an estate belonging to generations yet unborn. The Government policy should be to safeguard, develop and utilize these possessions. The conservation

policy of the nation originated with the Republican Party, under the inspiration of Theodore Roosevelt. We hold it a privilege of the Republican Party to build as a memorial to him on the foundation which he laid.

**Education and Relief**—The conservation of human resources is one of the most solemn responsibilities of government. There is an obligation which cannot be ignored and which demands that the Federal Government shall, as far as lies in its power, give to the people and the States the benefit of its counsel.

The welfare activities of the Government connected with the various departments are already numerous and important, but lack the co-ordination which is essential to effective action. To meet these needs, we approve the suggestion for the creation of a Cabinet post of Education and Relief.

**Universal Mobilization in War Time**—We believe that in time of war the nation should draft for its defense not only its citizens, but also every resource which may contribute to success.

The country demands that should the United States ever again be called upon to defend itself by arms, the President be empowered to draft such material resources and such service as may be required and to stabilize the prices of services and essential commodities, whether used in actual warfare or private activities.

**Immigration and Naturalization**—The unprecedented living conditions in Europe following the World War created a condition by which we were threatened with mass immigration that would have seriously disturbed our economic life. The law recently enacted is designed to protect the inhabitants of our country, not only the American citizen, but also the alien already with us who is seeking to secure an economic foothold for himself and family, from the competition that would come from unrestricted immigration. The administrative features of the law represent a great constructive advance and eliminate the hardships suffered by immigrants under the emergency statute.

We favor the adoption of methods which will exercise a helpful influence among the foreign-born population and provide for the education of the alien in our language, customs, ideals and standards of life. We favor the improvement of naturalization laws.

**Hawaii-Alaska**—We favor a continuance for the Territory of Hawaii of Federal assistance in harbor improvements, the appropriation of its share of Federal funds, and the systematic extension of the settlement of public lands by the Hawaiian race.

We endorse the policy of the present Administration in reference to Alaska and favor a continuance of the constructive development of the Territory.

**Philippines**—The Philippines policy of the Republican Party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from parties and politics.

In accepting the obligation which came to them with the control of the Philippine Islands, the American people have only the wish to serve, advance and improve the condition of the Filipino people. That thought will continue to be the dominating factor in the American consideration of the many problems which must inevitably grow out of our relationship to the people.

If the time comes when it is evident to Congress that independence would be better for the people of the Philippines with respect to both their domestic concerns and their status in the world, and the Filipino people then desire complete independence, the American Government will gladly accord it. A careful study of the conditions in the Philippine Islands has convinced us that the time for such action has not yet arrived.

**Reclamation**—Federal reclamation of the arid and semi-arid lands in the West has been the subject of intensive study in the Department of the Interior during the past fiscal year. New policies and methods of operation have been adopted which promise to insure the successful

accomplishment of the objects sought. The completion of this reorganization plan is regarded as one of the achievements of the present Administration in the interests of farmers immediately and of all the people ultimately.

**Commercial Aviation**—We advocate the early enactment of such legislation and the taking of such steps by the Government as will tend to promote commercial aviation.

**Army and Navy**—There must be no further weakening of our regular army, and we advocate appropriations sufficient to provide for the training of all members of the National Guard, the citizens' military training camps, the Reserve Officers' training camps and the reserves who may offer themselves for service. We pledge ourselves to round out and maintain the navy to the full strength provided the United States by the letter and spirit of the Limitation of Armament Conference.

**The Negro**—We urge the Congress to enact at the earliest possible date a Federal anti-lynching law, so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime. We believe that much of the misunderstanding which now exists can be eliminated by humane and sympathetic study of its causes. The President has recommended the creation of a commission for the investigation of social and economic conditions and the promotion of mutual understanding and confidence.

**Orderly Government**—The Republican Party reaffirms its devotion to orderly government under the guarantees embodied in the Constitution of the United States. We recognize the duty of constant vigilance to preserve at all times a clean and honest government and to bring to the bar of justice every defiler of the public service in or out of office.

Dishonesty and corruption are not political attributes. The recent Congressional investigations have exposed instances in both parties of men in public office who are willing to sell official favors and men out of office who are willing to buy them in some cases with money and in others with influence.

The sale of influence resulting from the holding of public position or from association while in public office or the use of such influence for private gain or advantage is a perversion of public trust and prejudicial to good government. It should be condemned by public opinion and forbidden by law.

We demand the speedy, fearless and impartial prosecution of all wrongdoers, without regard for political affiliation or position, but we declare no greater wrong can be committed against the people than the attempt to destroy their trust in the great body of their public servants. Admitting the deep humiliation which all good citizens share that our public life should have harbored some dishonest men, we assert that these undesirables do not represent the standard of our national integrity.

The Government at Washington is served today by thousands of earnest, conscientious and faithful officials and employees in every department. It is a grave wrong against these patriotic men and women to strive indiscriminately to besmirch the names of the innocent and undermine the confidence of the people in the Government under which they live. It is even a graver wrong when this is done for partisan purposes or for selfish exploitation.

The Republican Administration has already taken charge of the prosecution of official dereliction, and it will continue the work of discovering and punishing; but it will not confuse the innocent with the guilty, nor prostitute for party advantage the enforcement of the law.

**Law and Order**—We must have respect for law. We must have observance of law. We must have enforcement of law. The very existence of the Government depends upon this. The substitution of private will for public law is only another name for oppression, disorder, anarchy and the mob rule.

Every Government depends upon the loyalty and respect of its citizens. Violations of the law weaken and threaten government itself.



No honest Government can condone such actions on the part of its citizens. The Republican Party pledges the full strength of the Government for the maintenance of these principles by the enforcement of the Constitution and of all laws.

**Women Delegates**—We extend our greeting to the women delegates who for the first time under Federal authorization sit with us in full equality. The Republican Party from the beginning has espoused the cause of woman suffrage, and the presence of these women delegates signifies to many here the completion of a task undertaken years ago. We welcome them not as assistants or as auxiliary representatives, but as co-partners in the great political work in which we are engaged, and we believe that the actual partnership in party councils should be made more complete.

**Constitutional Guarantee**—The Republican Party reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained.

**Party Responsibility**—With us, parties are essential instrumentalities of government. Our Government functions best when the Chief Executive is supported by a majority in the Congress of the same political faith, united by party principles and able by concerted action to carry out in an orderly way a definite, consistent and well-balanced program. In urging the people to elect a Republican President and Vice President we urge them to elect to the Senate and House of Representatives men and women who believe in the Republican principles, acknowledge party responsibility and who can be relied on to keep faith with the people by carrying out the program which the Republican Party presents and pledges itself to fulfill.

#### THE NOMINATIONS

The convention resumed its session after the adoption of the platform on June 12. President Coolidge was nominated on the first ballot. The vote was Coolidge, 1,065; La Follette, 34, and Hiram Johnson, 10. The nomination of President Coolidge was received with tremendous enthusiasm, the applause lasting many minutes.

When the result of the ballot was announced, a delegate of South Dakota moved that the nomination be made unanimous. The one delegate from Wisconsin who cast the only vote for Coolidge seconded the motion and the nomination was thereupon made by acclamation. The name of President Coolidge was presented by

Dr. Marion Leroy Burton, President of the University of Michigan, in a notable speech.

General Charles Gates Dawes was nominated for Vice President on the third ballot. A native of Ohio, born Aug. 27, 1865, he resided in Wisconsin in his early years and became Controller of the Currency of the United States, which post he held from 1898 to 1901, after which he organized the Central Union Trust Company of Illinois. He served in France, most of the time as Chairman of the General Purchasing Board and handled the supplies for the American forces, and in 1921 and 1922 served as the first Director of the Budget in the Administration of President Harding. He was the Chairman of the Experts' Commission which worked out a plan for the solution of the reparations problem, known as the Dawes Report.

There were three ballots for Vice President. The first was indecisive, a number of complimentary votes being cast. On the second ballot Governor Frank A. Lowden of Illinois was nominated. He at once sent a message refusing to accept the nomination, whereupon the convention recessed and on the first ballot in the evening, which was the third, General Dawes was nominated by a vote of 682½ to 334½ for Secretary of Commerce Hoover, and 75 for Judge Kenyon of Iowa. The nomination was thereupon made by acclamation.

William M. Butler, manager of the campaign, was selected as Chairman of the National Republican Committee, displacing John T. Adams of Iowa.

Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin issued a public statement the day after the convention, declaring that the nation's Administration "has literally turned its back upon the farmer," and attacking President Coolidge, this being the first formal move that he has made toward heading a third party in the Presidential campaign.

## GENERAL SURVEY OF EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

**Growth of the Government**—The national spirit and national growth of the United States are nowhere more manifest than in the character and development of the Federal Government; of particular interest with respect to modern administrative problems, was the address delivered by Secretary of State Hughes before the National Institute of Social Service on May 15. According to the Secretary the results of our "profusion of Governmental agencies \* \* \* are far from satisfactory and not commensurate with the enormous effort put forth"; the trouble, he thought, lay not in the calibre of public officials but in an inefficient method, for which he held the courts partly responsible. "Criminal processes are too dilatory, juries are too indulgent,

Judges are too lenient in sentences," he found, adding that he doubted "whether the [judicial] privileges against self-incrimination should be maintained."

**The President**—The past month was fraught with significance for President Coolidge; his differences of opinion with Congress, his attitude on important measures, and his nomination for the Presidency by the Republican Party, make this a memorable period. The President's activity submits to two divisions: the minor events centring around the White House and the larger public responsibilities.

President Coolidge has adopted the methods of Roosevelt and Harding in receiving numerous non-political visitors, singly or in groups; it is in

brief addresses to these callers, as well as in daily public letters, that he expresses his personal and political principles. He received (May 8) the members of the Political Campaign School, which is being maintained by the League of Republican Women Voters. The President commended the desire of the league for party organization and, discussing woman's relation to the Government, he observed that "the seat of power does not rest in Washington—it rests in those homes that you really represent." Addressing a reserve officers' association (May 17), he expressed a hope that it would stand "not only against aggression from abroad, but also against headlong and thoughtless entry into a new conflict." The President announced (May 20), that he would remain in Washington throughout the Summer. In a formal address at the Arlington National Cemetery (May 21), he emphasized the necessity of "meeting the world, bearing our part of the burdens of the world," and gave his reasons for favoring our participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice, subject, however, to certain conditions, "as proposed by President Harding." Suffering a slight indisposition (May 21), the President made himself the exponent of the inhalation of diluted chlorine gas as a remedy for colds, and afterward declared the experiment successful. He took part in a National Conference on Outdoor Life (May 23) and he followed the example of the late Presidents Wilson and Harding by delivering an address (May 25) in memory of the Confederates at Arlington; in his speech he expressed satisfaction that "the bitterness of conflict is passed." He approved the idea of college Republican clubs (May 27). To the National Association of Real Estate Boards (June 5), he expressed especial interest in the board's plans for home buying. He presided (June 7) at a debate on the Federal Constitution, in which, he held, all should be trained because of "the eternal mutability of institutions." In a commencement address at Howard University, the national institution for colored men and women, he declared the progress of the colored people on this continent to be "one of the marvels of modern history," adding that "this race is to be preserved for a great and useful work"; he also praised the service of the negro soldiers in the World War. In another commencement address at Georgetown (Catholic) University (June 9) he commended the American desire for higher education, since "there never will be a saturation point, a danger of overproduction for a good, working, capable brain."

**Congress**—Throughout the month public attention has centred upon a rapid sequence of important events in the two houses. Representative Langley was convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment (May 13) by a Federal court for attempting to bribe a Federal prohibition director to permit illegal shipments of liquor. Three

days before adjournment the House of Representatives disposed of two election contest cases. Buckley, Democrat, from Illinois, was seated over the protest of Gorman, a Republican contestant, and Weller of New York, a Tammany Democrat, won over Anson, a Republican.

Congress adjourned at 7 P. M. on June 7. Senator La Follette led a move to have Congress adjourn temporarily and reassemble about July 1; the effort failed, however, since he was able to muster only 36 Senate votes for the plan, to 53 against. At the last moment a filibuster by Senator Heflin of Alabama and Senator Pittman of Nevada caused the failure of many important measures, but did not affect the routine appropriation bills, most of which went through. Among the bills which were not reached was a deficiency bill covering appropriations for \$186,000,000, including \$133,000,000 for the first payments of the bonus; a special appropriation for building additional ships for the navy; an appropriation of \$165,000,000 to be distributed among the States for good roads; a \$30,000,000 river and harbor bill; various bills for abolishing the Railroad Labor Board and changing the Esch-Cummins Railroad act. Congress also failed to act on the important bill for reorganizing the Executive Department; the various propositions for the Muscle Shoals water power; the bill for the relief of purchasers of land under the Reclamation act, and all bills for giving Government aid or relief to the farmers.

In addition to passing a Federal constitutional amendment authorizing a new President or Congress to take office in the January subsequent to the Presidential or Congressional election, both houses agreed by two-thirds majorities to an amendment empowering the Federal Government to enact legislation with respect to child labor. The two amendments were thereupon referred to the States for ratification.

No action was taken by Congress with regard to the Philippine Islands. The House Committee on Insular Affairs voted (May 7), to report the Fairfield bill, by which at the end of twenty years the islands would become independent. A similar bill in the Senate, fathered by Senator Hiram Johnson, would give independence at the end of twenty-five years. Secretary of War Weeks and President Coolidge were sharply criticized by Representative Fear of Wisconsin for not favoring early independence. General Wood, it was reported, felt that he had done all that he could for the Philippine Islands and was desirous of returning home.

**Congressional Investigations.**—Most of the investigating committees appointed by the House and Senate will remain in existence till the next session of Congress. The Walsh committee, which has been dealing with the issues of the oil leases and particularly the transactions of former Secretary Fall, ended its hearings May 14; on



June 5 the committee submitted its findings. According to the report, the leases signed by Fall were made in disregard of the law, and Fall's relations with Doheny were "secret and corrupt"; the committee also condemned the sending of marines to protect the lessees from the drilling of a rival oil company. Senator Spencer of Missouri filed a minority report (June 6).

The Brookhart committee, which had been investigating the conduct of the Department of Justice by Attorney General Daugherty, summoned the former Cabinet Minister to testify in his own defense; Mr. Daugherty declined to do so, claiming that the committee had no authority to continue the investigation, now that the matter was in the courts. Among the last witnesses before the committee was George Remus, a bootlegger serving a term in the penitentiary, who declared that he had paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to the late Jesse Smith, an intimate friend of Mr. Daugherty, for protection in bootlegging.

The Senate (June 5), on the report of the committee, voted 70 to 2, Senators Wills and Fess of Ohio dissenting, to authorize the employment of counsel by the committee to aid in the prosecution of Mal Daugherty, the former official's brother, in the proceedings instituted by Federal Judge Cockran. Senator Brookhart restated the testimony that Daugherty in 1921 paid only a small income tax; and that certificates of deposit in his name totaling \$75,000 had been found in his brother's bank. The Daugherty case, therefore, is converted into two judicial prosecutions—first to compel him to testify, and second to compel his brother to permit an inspection of the bank accounts.

One of the incidents of the investigation was the resignation of William J. Burns (May 9) as Director of the Bureau of Investigations in the Department of Justice. Members of Congress and executive officials had charged Burns with using the Government facilities to spy upon their movements and their papers; Attorney General Stone announced (May 13) that he would assume personal responsibility thereafter for any action of the Bureau of Investigations.

#### THE CASE AGAINST WHEELER

The judicial prosecution of Senator Wheeler of Montana continued to hold the attention of the Senate; certain letters were produced in the Senate committee investigations relative to land controversies; Wheeler explained that the letters had nothing to do with oil land transactions subsequent to his taking office as Senator. By a vote of 4 (including Senator Borah) to 1 (Senator Sterling of Nebraska), the committee voted (May 19) that no offense had been proved against Senator Wheeler. The Senate (May 23),

by a vote of 56 to 5, approved the report of the committee.

Altogether some twelve investigations authorized by one or the other house of Congress were under way or in process of organization at the end of the session (June 7). These included an inquiry into losses suffered by farmers because of war prices; the Northern Pacific Railroad land grants; the Nebraska tri-county irrigation project; soldiers and sailors' hospitals and homes; charges against Federal Judge Baker of West Virginia; the Couzens investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau and its enforcement of prohibition; the Mayfield election contest in Texas; the Hefflin investigation of the sale of lands in the Rio Grande Valley; the House committee investigation of the Shipping Board and its policy, and a House committee examination of bankruptcy laws. Additional committees have been formed to study Government aircraft, Government bond duplication and Indian affairs in Oklahoma. A proposition by Senator La Follette to create a Senate committee to report after the next Presidential election on the subscriptions to and expenditures of campaign funds during that election was effectually pigeonholed during the last-minute flurry of legislation.

**Federal Judiciary**—An important Federal Court decision during the month was that handed down in Chicago by Judges Wilkerson and Carpenter, who ruled invalid a pardon granted by President Coolidge to one Grossman; the defendant was sentenced to jail for contempt of court by a Federal Judge in 1922. Grossman, it was found, had sold liquor in violation of an injunction issued by the Judge. The new decision is based on a rather technical construction of the clause of the Constitution which provides that "the President shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment."

**State and Local Affairs**—Affairs were quiet in all the State governments except that of Rhode Island, where the Senate was deadlocked for several weeks. An attempt by the Democrats, who were in the minority, to compel the calling of a constitutional convention, precipitated the clash; the Democrats aimed at the abolition of the property qualification for voters in the city of Providence, and abolition also of the present districting system which gives a decisive majority in the Legislature to the representatives of the small towns.

All propositions made for the extension of subways in New York were deferred by the demand of the city authorities to await the coming into office of the new City Transit Board on July 1.

**Politics and Parties**—Following the admissions during the oil investigations by wealthy oil operators that they had made large donations to

the funds of both the dominant political parties, Congress manifested interest in new legislation looking to publicity for and curbing of campaign funds. Senator Walsh of Massachusetts introduced a bill (May 21) to amend the existing Corrupt Practices law; later (May 27) the Senate by a vote of 77 to 3, added to the bill increasing postal salaries, a measure sponsored by Senator Borah under which the campaign officials of both political parties would be obliged to make reports showing the names and amounts of contributors to campaign funds, such statements to be published every ten days. The House accepted the amendment, but the postal bill was vetoed by the President. The campaign publicity law is now in effect.

Senator Lodge, senior Senator from Massachusetts and now in his sixth term, strengthened the growing coolness between him and the Administration when he opposed various important propositions supported by the President, including adhesion to the World Court.

In Atlantic City, N. J. (May 13), widespread lawlessness marked the municipal election; 200 telephone wires were cut and scores of private detectives were active. Leaders of the Reform Party, who had vainly opposed Mayor Bader for reelection, charged that their watchers were thrown out of polling places, and that the police refused protection. Twenty-four election officers were ejected, officials of the defeated party declared, and 3,000 fraudulent votes were cast.

Numerous pre-convention addresses enlivened the early weeks of June; on May 19 William G. McAdoo made the first speech of his campaign for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency; he said that the Republican Party stood for "materialism resulting in moral debauchery," and he demanded "the restoration of the high purposes which characterized the Wilson Administration." Governor Smith of New York made a public statement (June 7) to the effect that he favored "strict enforcement of all laws"; that he had faithfully enforced the prohibition laws of New York; but that the time had come "for Congress to fix a maximum alcoholic content based on science and sound reasoning, thereafter leaving every State to enact any statute it pleased with regard to regulation of the traffic in light wines and beer within that alcoholic content." Governor Smith also took a strong stand against the Ku Klux Klan, which he declared inferentially to be "contrary to the very principles upon which this country was founded."

Several movements were under way for a third party. The so-called American Party met at Columbus (June 3) with fifty-three delegates, who nominated Charles F. Randall of Los Angeles; the party made a frank appeal for Klan support. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers indicated that it would favor a third party, headed by Senator La Follette. The Pro-

hibition National Convention of about 200 delegates met at Columbus, Ohio, June 6, nominated A. P. Gouthey of Seattle, and declined to make a campaign against tobacco as part of the party platform. Senator La Follette (May 28) published a letter threatening to run for the Presidency as an independent candidate unless both of the major parties "cleaned house."

**Finance and Business**—No important financial questions have arisen during the month except the new tax bill. The Government was able to borrow money on short-term certificates of indebtedness at 2½ per cent. A struggle over the tax plan of Secretary Mellon lasted several months; the bill, which was warmly backed by President Coolidge, involved a 25 per cent. reduction on the income tax of 1923, now payable, and considerable reductions in the scale throughout, the surtaxes on large incomes being particularly affected. Various rival propositions were made by both Democrats and Republicans; eventually the opponents of the Mellon plan got together, pared down the reduction on the high surtaxes, somewhat enlarged the reduction on the smaller taxpayers, and included important reforms in the methods of assessment and collection. Secretary Mellon (May 22) declared that the bill agreed to in conference was "unsatisfactory, uneconomic and impracticable." The bill as framed in the House received a vote of 376 to 9 (May 26); and the President reluctantly signed it, accompanying it with a statement which criticized especially the clause under which income tax returns might be examined by committees of Congress.

Debate on the Bonus bill was long and warm. The measure provided a system of prepaid insurance policy to be issued by the Government to the veterans of the World War at the rate of \$1 a day for home service and \$1.25 a day for foreign service (less 60 days); the amount was to be paid to the representatives of the soldiers at death, or to themselves at the end of twenty years. The cash payment by the Government in the first fiscal year is estimated at \$135,000,000. After two years the policy was to be transferable. Consideration was given to the likelihood that large numbers of the soldiers would sell their policies perhaps considerably below the actuarial value. The bill was passed over the President's veto in the House (May 17), by 313 to 78 and in the Senate (May 19) by a vote of 59 to 26, and thus became law. The President subsequently announced that the new law would be put into effect at once, this despite the failure of Congress to authorize funds for the new expenditure.

The McNary-Haugen bill for creating an agricultural export corporation was strongly opposed in both houses as making the Government responsible for the sale of agricultural surpluses in for-



eign countries. No relief was given the farmers by acts of Congress.

A curious question with regard to trusts has been raised through a statement made by Judge Gary, head of the United States Steel Corporation (May 23), that in 1917 Government officials wanted the Government to take control of the iron and steel industries. Bernard M. Baruch, at that time Chairman of the War Industries Board, confirmed the statement; but insisted that action was necessary to keep down the prices on steel products. The Muscle Shoals controversy remained to be settled, inasmuch as there was no majority in the Senate for the Henry Ford offer to take over the plant on a 100-year concession, giving him an opportunity to manufacture nitrates for the benefit of farmers; instead, the Senate Agricultural Committee reported the Norris bill for Government ownership.

**International Notes**—An act for the reorganization of the diplomatic service, which received the President's signature (May 24), consolidates the diplomatic and consular service, so that the same person may perform functions in either or both fields and transfers may be made from one service to the other. More stability will be given to the diplomatic service as a result of the law.

Among the treaties which went into force during the month was one with Great Britain "to aid in the prevention of the smuggling of intoxicating liquors"; and similar treaties with Sweden and Denmark.

**Law and Order**—Crimes of violence and of fraud on a large scale appeared to increase during the month. The American Bankers' Association reported a large gain in forgeries and similar offenses. There was a growth in hold-ups and consequent murders, and also in homicides by reckless drivers of motor cars. In Oklahoma one Elias Ridge, 14 years old, was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. The Ku Klux Klan appeared to be marshaling new strength. In Indiana the Republican leaders were said to have given in to the order; the pressure against an avowed anti-Ku Klux plank in the platform of the Republican Party was strong and successful. One of the few lynchings of the year was that of two negroes at Fort Myers, Fla., who were taken from the Sheriff by a mob and shot.

On the prohibition laws the Supreme Court (June 9) upheld the Willis-Campbell act of Congress to regulate the prescription of intoxicating liquors by physicians. Medical associations, however, protested against the restrictions, which, the organizations charged, showed a lack of confidence in the doctors. Wayne B. Wheeler, counsel for the National Anti-Saloon League, announced that in 1923 over 34,000 convictions were obtained, resulting in the imposition of fines totaling \$5,000,000 and jail sentences aggregating over 2,000 years.

**Social and Science**—The press chronicled discussions of several different religious bodies which had considered the tenets of faith and the bearing of science, and particularly of evolution, upon religious doctrine. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church met at Grand Rapids (May 22); William J. Bryan was made Vice Moderator of the Assembly, which was regarded as a triumph for the fundamentalists. The Assembly was confronted by an "Affirmation" signed by 150 Presbyterian clergymen and others against fixing new tests of orthodoxy; the Assembly took up the case of the Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, who had been a Baptist and desired to enter the Presbyterian Church. Another Presbyterian body, meeting in San Antonio, Texas (May 21) reasserted its belief that Adam "was directly fashioned by Almighty God without natural animal parentage of any kind, out of matter previously created from nothing."

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met at Springfield, Mass., granted the right of ordination to women as local preachers, affirmed very strict rules as to divorce, voted 842 to 13 for a merger with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and sustained the words "Holy Catholic Church" in the Apostle's Creed.

A heresy trial was held at Cleveland (May 27) by the Protestant Episcopal Church; the defendant was Bishop William Montgomery Brown (retired), and the charges were based upon statements in a book he wrote entitled "Communism and Christianity," which were held to justify Communism and Sovietism. The Bishop was found guilty (May 31) by unanimous vote; sentence was postponed until Oct. 14. Bishop Brown announced that he would appeal the verdict.

A scientific announcement of interest was made by the National Electric Light Association; this body reported that electricians had started a water wheel at Niagara Falls carrying 83,000 horse power; that the electro and hydroelectric companies spent about \$4,000,000,000 on the new plant in the past year and were furnishing 13,000,000 subscribers. The electrical experts expressed the belief that electric refrigeration soon would supersede ice.

The medical men were much encouraged by a new remedy and treatment for pneumonia discovered by Dr. Felton of the Harvard Medical School; the discovery followed five years of scientific research. Several unofficial announcements were made of the discovery of a cancer cure. To these advances in medicine was attributed considerable responsibility for the recent remarkable reduction of the death rate.

**Labor and Immigration**—Interest by labor organizations in current questions deepened as the political campaign developed. Samuel Compers, President of the American Federation of Labor, enunciated (May 25), three "issues which appear paramount to labor"; these, he

declared, were immigration, taxation, and communist propaganda and the movement to recognize the Russian Soviet. The organization known as the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor centred its attention on an effort to break up the widespread system by which the labor of prisoners is let to private employers by contract.

Reports came in from various parts of the country that laborers were being thrown out of employment; nevertheless, strikes continued to hamper development in the building and other trades; 60,000 garment workers struck (May 22), "primarily for the right of discussion." The Iron League of employers brought suit against the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers (June 4), on the issue of the open or closed shop.

**Military and Naval**—Efforts were made by

officers of the army and navy to centre public attention upon the needs of defense. General Pershing, in a public address at Camp Merritt (May 30) strongly urged preparedness as an economic necessity.

Interest in the naval branch of aviation was focused during the month upon the restoration to service of the great dirigible Shenandoah; in honor of the occasion the Shenandoah made a 1,000-mile flight across the Atlantic Coast States. The care of disabled veterans continued to hold the attention of Congress and liberal appropriations were made for further relief of the disabled and sick. A distressing tragedy occurred on the United States battleship Mississippi (June 13), when a fourteen-inch gun was jammed during target practice and exploded, killing three naval officers and forty-five sailors.

# Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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## MEXICO

THE approaching national elections, scheduled for July 6, aroused intense interest in Mexico during May. In his first speech in Mexico City General Angel Flores, Conservative-Liberal Presidential aspirant, said that he placed the flag of his country above the red and black flag of the radicals, and that he favored "progress, order and honesty" as opposed to those who "announce betterment by robbery." Landowners and business interests are backing Flores with funds; the conservative wing of the Workingmen's Party, a number of small farmers, the so-called Moderates, and the Catholic Party are actively supporting him. Early in June General Flores was campaigning in Southern Mexico.

Odds are reported to be in favor of General Plutarco Elias Calles, radical candidate for the Presidency. Radical laborers and agrarians and the radical element generally are supporting him. In a speech at Morelia on May 11 General Calles made the assertion that the people approved his agrarian policy. He promised, if elected, to continue the partition of land to all towns in Mexico, and, by so doing, to guarantee economic independence to all. Early in June General Calles was campaigning in Mexico City. Among his ardent supporters in the capital is Luis Morones, Deputy and radical labor leader. Morones, in a speech in favor of Calles, called de la Huerta and Flores traitors and accused their followers of fomenting a new revolution. Governor Aurelio

Manrique of San Luis Potosi and Governor José Guadalupe Zuñiga of Jalisco on May 14 asked for temporary leaves of absence in order to be able to campaign for General Calles.

Because the Mexican Constitution provides that national elections cannot be held in case any State in the republic is in rebellion, President Obregón early in May instructed Minister of War Serrano to proceed to Southeastern Mexico and restore peace at all cost in the States of Tabasco and Chiapas before July 6. A Federal force on May 10 embarked on four warships from Puerto Mexico for Frontera, chief seaport of Tabasco, and by May 28 the port had been occupied by Federal troops. As late as June 3 General Serrano announced that Villa Hermosa, capital of Tabasco, had not been captured by the Federals. Meanwhile, with the occupation of the Territory of Quintana Roo by May 12, the entire Yucatán Peninsula had come under Federal control.

The Ministry of Gobernación announced on June 6 that de la Huertista Deputies who left Mexico in the course of the rebellion or who followed de la Huerta to the field might return to Mexico. Warning was given, however, that those guilty of offenses under the law would be subject to prosecution in the common courts.

The International Committee of Bankers on Mexico announced on May 16 that the final nineteen bond issues included in the Lamont-de la Huerta debt readjustment agreement of June 16, 1922, and deposited with the committee under the deposit agreement dated July 1, 1922, would be



returned to depositors, with interest for 1923, upon presentation and surrender of the relative certificates of deposit. The face value of these nineteen bond issues is in excess of \$87,890,000 and represents 17 per cent. of the \$517,000,000 of Mexican Government bonds on which interest, now approximating \$200,000,000, has not been paid since 1914. This action of the Committee of Bankers concludes the readjustment of the Mexican debt. It restores to owners the full amount of bonds deposited with the committee and secures to them their share of the \$15,000,000 interest payment for 1923 made by Mexico under its contract with the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico. This committee further announced that interest accruing subsequently to Jan. 1, 1924, would not be distributed until the committee had received for the current year one-half of the minimum fund, approximating 35,000,000 pesos, to be provided by the Mexican Government under the terms of the readjustment agreement. The Mexican Finance Ministry announced on May 23 that during April oil export taxes, totaling 500,000 pesos, had been deposited at the Mexican National Bank for service on the foreign debt for 1924.

With reference to the famous Lamont-de la Huerta debt readjustment agreement of 1922, which was one of the main causes of de la Huerta's rebellion against the Government, President Obregón on May 12 made some interesting and significant statements. The President asserted that de la Huerta had worked "along false lines" and that when he became a party to this agreement he had violated instructions which "established as the fundamental base of renewal of payment on the debt the economic rehabilitation of Mexico." President Obregón expressed the belief that de la Huerta had not acted in bad faith, but that he had been so greatly impressed by verbal offers that "he assumed all responsibility and accepted information which did not have a solid basis, believing that he could later satisfy my instructions through the generosity of our creditors." In support of this allegation President Obregón stated that de la Huerta had on July 3, 1922, telegraphed that he had been guaranteed a basis for the establishment of a bank; that this was untrue; but that on the basis of this false information he had authorized de la Huerta to accept the convention. President Obregón admitted that he had placed too much confidence in de la Huerta, but disclaimed any intention "to evade responsibilities" which were his as Chief Executive. Belief was expressed that de la Huerta's "gradual separation \* \* \* from the Government" had been caused by the fact that as Chief Executive he had often reminded de la Huerta that he had caused him [Obregón] to become a party to "an agreement of great importance through information which was untrue."

The most urgent need of the Mexican Government, namely, the floating of a loan, failed to materialize during May, and as a result salaries of Government employes continued in arrears. Public school teachers of Mexico City advocated the suspension of service on the national debt and the application of these funds to back salaries of Government employes. The Ministry of Finance was authorized by President Obregón on May 8 to sell at public auction national properties not necessary for public service and to apply the proceeds to the payment of salaries of Government employes, then seventy days in arrears, and to the settlement of pending accounts with business firms. The total of these two items at that time was in excess of 20,000,000 pesos. Two days later Under Secretary of Finance León Salinas announced that if negotiations for an immediate loan failed it would be necessary to resort to suspension of interest payments on the national debt and to apply \$12,000,000 previously designed for interest payments during 1924 to the payment of Government salaries and to claims of local merchants. In May United States bankers refused, notwithstanding Ambassador Warren's approval of the plan, to make a loan to Mexico with taxes on petroleum production as collateral.

The United States State Department on May 6 announced that Dr. Rodrigo Octavio, a distinguished Brazilian jurist and Professor of International Law in the University of Rio de Janeiro, had agreed to serve as the third member of the Special Claims Commission provided for in the convention signed by the United States and Mexico on Sept. 10, 1923. Similarly announcement was made on May 21 that Dr. C. van Vollenhoven, a distinguished professor of the University of Leyden and representative of Holland on the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, had agreed to serve as the third member of the General Mixed Claims Commission provided for in the convention signed on Sept. 8, 1923.

Delay in the recognition of Mexico by Great Britain was implied in the decision of the British Government to postpone the mission of Sir Thomas B. Hohler, who, on April 28, had been instructed to proceed to Mexico and report on the general political situation there.

By special invitation Minister of Public Instruction José Vasconcelos and Professors Moisés Sáenz and José Peralta of the National University of Mexico were guests of the University of Texas on May 28 and 29. Two formal addresses were delivered to the Faculty and students of the university by both Minister Vasconcelos and Professor Sáenz. Professor Peralta gave an illustrated lecture on Mexican life and education.

General improvement in industrial and trade conditions and noticeable improvement in the mining industry of Mexico were reported by United States Commercial Attaché Dye at Mexico

City on May 29. During March of this year Mexico exported \$17,069,063 worth of merchandise to the United States and imported thence merchandise to the value of \$9,405,264. These figures place Mexico fourth among the nations of the world in exports to the United States and tenth in imports from the United States. Oil exports from Mexico during April reached 13,513,917 barrels, or an increase of 183,415 barrels over March shipments. During 1923 exportation of petroleum from Mexico was 135,575,543 barrels, or a decrease of 45,290,740 barrels from the exportation of 1922. Twenty-one applications for drilling permits were filed by oil companies in the Tampico district during the week ended May 21.

An order for \$2,000,000 worth of railway equipment, principally locomotives, was placed during May with the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia. The Mexican Free Ports Commission announced June 15 as the date for the formal opening of the free ports of Puerto Mexico, on the Gulf of Mexico, and Salina Cruz, on the Pacific. These free ports are offered by the Mexican Government for the benefit of international commerce. At these ports merchandise may be unloaded and loaded free of Custom House inspection and regulations; goods may be imported, stored, transformed, manufactured, divided, packed and unpacked, sold and exported without payment of taxes or duties. Industries established in these zones are not subject to municipal, State or Federal taxation.

The status of the strike of the Aguila petroleum workers at Tampico remained unchanged during May. With a view to settling the strike, President Obregón on May 24 invited both the strikers and the Aguila Company to submit the facts to him.

A stadium seating 70,000 persons and erected at a cost of 1,000,000 pesos was dedicated in Mexico City on May 6. President Obregón and Minister of Public Instruction Vasconcelos attended the ceremonies.

## PANAMA

BY the Thomson-Urrutia treaty between the United States and Colombia, which came into force in March, 1922, Colombia recognized the independence of Panama and designated a boundary between Panama and Colombia. Because Panama was not a party to this treaty, however, regular diplomatic relations had not been established between it and Colombia. With the desire to bring this situation to an end Secretary of State Hughes arranged for a conference on May 8 between Dr. Enrique Olaya and Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Colombian and Panaman Ministers, respectively, in Washington. As a result of this conference diplomatic relations between the two countries were agreed upon by the Ministers, acting under authority from their respective Governments. Accordingly Mr. Nicolás Vic-

toria J. was designated as Panaman Minister to Colombia and Dr. José Maria Gonzalez Valencia was designated as Colombian Minister to Panama. It was further agreed that both representatives would be appointed formally by their respective Governments on May 15, after which each would proceed to his respective post. At the same time Secretary Hughes was informed by Dr. Alfaro that the Panaman Minister to Colombia would be instructed to sign with Colombia a special boundary convention that would definitely establish the boundary between Colombia and Panama as that previously designated by Colombia in the above-mentioned Thomson-Urrutia treaty with the United States.

President Coolidge on May 28 issued a proclamation abrogating, as of June 1, the Taft Agreement—a series of Executive orders issued between 1904 and 1911, providing a temporary *modus vivendi* to cover the period of the construction of the Panama Canal and which in no wise affected either party under the treaty between the United States and Panama. Although the agreement was abrogated as of June 1, the President's proclamation decreed that the rules and practices of the Canal Administration in the matter of commercial operations in the Canal Zone would be continued for a period of one month. Hope was expressed by the State Department that at the end of that time treaty negotiations between American and Panaman commissions which have been conducted for some weeks in Washington will have been concluded.

## GUATEMALA

THE General Treaty of Peace and Amity and the Convention for the Establishment of International Commissions of Inquiry, both of which were adopted at the Central American Conference in Washington in 1922, have been ratified by Guatemala—the first of the Central American republics to take such action. This ratification, which is considered to mark an epoch in Central American political development, was made possible by an intensive press campaign which supplemented the earnest arguments of President José Maria Orellana and paved the way for enlightened public understanding of the issues involved and by the interpretation of the aims and purposes of the United States by American Minister Arthur H. Geissler.

It is thought that the action of Guatemala will, both directly and indirectly, have a decisive tendency to guarantee peace and tranquillity throughout Central America, for it seems likely that the other countries of this region will quickly follow the example of Guatemala. The effects will be economic as well as political and will undoubtedly include a considerable increase of the already large amount of American investments.

The treaties ratified by Guatemala pursue the



same purposes aimed at by the conventions adopted in 1907 with a view to the realization of the Central American ideal of a peaceful and prosperous Central American union. The pacts of 1907 provided, as a guarantee for their execution, an international Central American Court of Justice, but the United States was not a party to these agreements and the court failed when a conflict arose involving interests of the United States as well as of Central America by the adjudication of which the former country was not bound since it was not a party to the treaty under which the court was constituted. The treaty on commissions of inquiry, designed to supply the defect in the conventions of 1907, provides that in case of a difference of opinion arising through alleged failure to comply with a treaty, and when national sovereignty, honor or vital interests are not involved, a commission of inquiry shall be named. Each of the countries at variance is to appoint a member of the commission and the third is to be selected, by agreement or by lot, from one of the other Central American republics or the United States. Opponents of ratification objected that by making the United States a party to the treaty there would be substituted for interference de facto interference by virtue of written law of treaty.

The argument of the advocates of the treaty was stated succinctly by the *Diario de Centro America*, one of the leading dailies of Guatemala, as follows:

On account of geographical reasons and the thousand ties which connect the Central American countries with the country of Washington, the influence of the Government of the United States in our affairs is inevitable. That has been seen in the recent civil war of Honduras. The influence of the American Government was indispensable to persuade the combating forces to accept the friendly mediation of the Central American Governments. It is an interference de facto which is conceded to the United States, a salutary interference, but, after all, one not founded upon the law of nations. How much better it would be for the honor and dignity of the peoples of Central America, if this interference were legalized in some juridical form, based on written law and not on the caprice of circumstances.

Some months ago it was generally predicted that the treaty on commissions of inquiry, the keystone of the work of the Washington Pan-American Conference, would be rejected in all the Central American countries. In Guatemala, for example, the Association of Lawyers, a powerful organization, after prolonged discussions declared by an almost unanimous vote that it would not be expedient to approve the convention. After the National Assembly had met, on March 1, President Orellana and Minister for Foreign Affairs Löwenthal launched an aggressive campaign for dispassionate consideration, predicting that it would result in ratification. In conformity with diplomatic usage, United States Minister Arthur H. Geissler refrained from public discus-

sions of the matter. His influence, however, entered largely into the result. In the opinion of keen observers, the ratification of the treaties is the most important development in the relations between Central America and the United States which has taken place in a number of years.

V. R. B.

## HONDURAS

**P**ROVISIONAL PRESIDENT TOSTA was notified by United States Minister Morales on May 16 that the United States Government, gratified that hostilities had been brought to a close and confident that constitutional government would soon be re-established, would treat with the provisional authorities "unofficially as the Provisional Government of Honduras," and would afford that Government appropriate moral support. The Governments of El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica likewise offered pledges of moral support. In accordance with the terms of the Amapala Agreement, a decree of the Provisional Government, dated May 29, calls for the election on June 29, 30 and July 1 of Deputies to a Constituent Assembly, which will formally convene in Tegucigalpa on July 31.

## NICARAGUA

**D**URING May the Liberal and the Conservative Parties of Nicaragua nominated Juan Bautista Sacasa and General Emiliano Chamorro, respectively, as their candidates for the Presidency. The Nicaraguan authorities on May 8 were reported to have frustrated an attempt of the followers of General Chamorro to kidnap President Martínez. The Nicaraguan Government was reported on May 25 to have obtained evidence that General Chamorro was concentrating forces and caching war materials preparatory to beginning a revolution. President Martínez, in agreement with United States Minister Ramer, summoned General Chamorro to the capital on May 25.

## COSTA RICA

**T**HE Costa Rican Congress on May 29 ratified the convention and protocol relative to commercial travelers as signed at San José on March 31 by plenipotentiaries of the United States and Costa Rica.

## CUBA

**R**EVOLUTIONARY activity in Cuba, which became serious during April, subsided early in May following the embargo proclaimed by President Coolidge (May 2) against the shipment of arms and munitions to Cuba; the approval by the United States War Department (May 3) of the appeal of the Zayas Administration for the sale to it of a considerable amount of arms and ammunition, and the granting of amnesty by

President Zayas (May 4) to all rebels who laid down their arms. Three sales of war materials, principally arms and munitions, had been made by the United States War Department to the Cuban Government prior to May 10. The value of these materials was approximately \$208,000. Frederico Laredo Bru, leader of the revolutionary movement in Cuba, went into retirement shortly before May 12. Other leaders, as Oswaldo Soto, had surrendered by this date and had been freed by the Government and no armed bands were in the field. President Zayas ruled on May 17 that the general decree of amnesty applied specifically to General Carlos García-Vélez and other leaders of the Veterans and Patriots' Association.

Title to seven branches of the Banco Nacional de Cuba was acquired by the National City Bank of New York on May 1. By this acquisition the latter bank now controls twenty-four branches in Cuba.

President Zayas signed a decree on May 29 designed to support the prohibition laws of the United States. The decree prohibits shipment of liquor from all Cuban ports other than by regularly organized steamship companies, and then only when a bond is put up which may be forfeited in ninety days in case proof is not shown that the liquor has legally entered the country to which it was consigned. The purpose of the

regulation is to stop the sailing of small "rum-runners" from Cuba to the United States.

## JAMAICA

THE West Indian Telegraph bill, providing for the expenditure of £400,000 for the establishment of a system of cable and wireless communication in the British West Indies and British Guiana, passed the third reading in the House of Commons on May 7. Critics of the bill asserted that it provided in substance for a loan of £400,000 to the Commercial Cable Company, a corporation controlled by American capital.

## HAITI AND SANTO DOMINGO

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE, under the provisions of the Haitian-American treaty of Sept. 16, 1915, has nominated Everett A. Colson as Deputy General Receiver of Customs of Haiti.

The President of the Dominican Republic on May 31 signed a thirty-year concession to the All-America Cable Company to land cables in territory of the Dominican Republic and to furnish international service with that country. The same day the Dominican Congress approved the reforms in the Constitution that had been submitted to it. A Dominican Constitutional Assembly was called to meet the first week of June.

# South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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DURING the past month the Latin-American press has expressed an interest in our recent immigration legislation. The new law excited little alarm in Latin America, since the influx of immigrants from the southern countries had always been small, and restricted legislation had not applied to them.

The recent suggestion of President Coolidge for a new disarmament conference struck a responsive note in Southern South America. Rivalry in armament had been especially keen of late, notably between Argentina and Brazil. South American statesmen hoped that the proposed new conference might succeed where the Santiago conference of 1923 failed in preventing Southern South America from becoming a second Europe, with increasing rivalries and a consequent piling up of war material at prohibitive cost. As the army and navy figured more prominently each year in the budgets of the three principal nations of the continent, it was felt that further rivalry should be summarily checked.

The recent assignment of Rear Admiral Vogelgesang of the American Navy, with a staff of sixteen commissioned officers and twenty petty officers, to undertake the task of organizing and expanding the Brazilian Navy was followed shortly afterward by an appropriation of 100,000,000 pesos in Argentina "for the reorganization of the military of the country." The departure of army and navy officers from Argentina for Europe to study war tactics in Italy and France was in turn followed by announcements from the Brazilian Minister of Marine regarding the modernization of Brazil's war equipment.

A proposal was recently made to have the twenty Latin-American republics sign a treaty similar to that agreed to by the five Central American powers: That naval forces be limited to a maximum of 80,000 tons for each republic, with land forces to be gauged according to population, area, extent of frontiers and other determining factors. A somewhat similar plan was



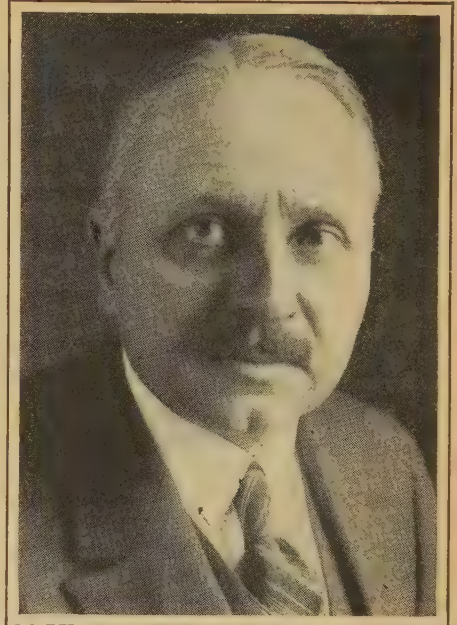
proposed last year at the Pan-American conference during a discussion of representatives from Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

## ARGENTINA

THE outstanding event of May in Argentina was the general strike against the new pension law. This law, which requires the deduction of 5 per cent. from wages, with a similar amount for each employe, to be contributed by employers, had met with opposition from both employers and employes. The opposition which developed during the early days of May gradually spread through the industrial districts of the capital, and thence to Rosario, Tucumán, Córdoba and other large centres. Some 1,500 important manufacturers of Buenos Aires announced on May 11 that they would not obey the law, and labor bodies threatened to stop work entirely should the pension contributions be deducted from the wages of their members.

Argentines subsequently turned to Congress for relief from the objectionable law. President de Alvear (May 9) postponed until May 25 the final date for the payment of the first instalment. This was hopefully interpreted as presaging a revision or even annulment of the measure. Opposition had been crystallized in proposals to reduce the employe's contribution to 3 per cent., to return the contribution of foreigners who leave Argentina, to include insurance against unemployment and sickness and to change the conditions of eligibility. The labor element objects to the legislation because of the exactions required of the laborer. A delegation of the Union Sindical Argentina maintained before the President (May 5) that the law does not "contemplate the interests of the working classes, and consequently these will refuse to contribute one single centavo." "The capitalists," they said, "ought to give up part of the gains which they retain for their exclusive benefit." Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, was reported by The Associated Press (May 3) as believing that the enforcement of this pension law would be unjust to workmen. "Any collection for pensions," says the report of his opinion, "should come from the industrials and not from the struggling workers."

Several financial transactions of importance have come to public notice in Argentina. A shipment of \$3,950,000 in gold was sent to New York on May 22 to cover the sterling debt service due there. A \$35,000,000 contract for financing and constructing street improvements was awarded to a New York firm. Two important loans are pending—one for the renewal of the \$20,000,000 due in the United States in August and the other for the consolidation of the floating debt of the State Railways. These railways and



Underwood

### HONORIO PUEYRREDON

Argentine Ambassador to the United States; formerly Foreign Minister of Argentina

also the private lines had a successful year in 1923, the State lines adding 1,523 miles of track during the year, as against a slight expansion of private lines. Receipts of Government-owned roads increased by \$4,400,000 over 1922, while those of private lines increased slightly over \$4,000,000.

President Coolidge on May 25 sent the following telegram of greeting to President de Alvear:

In the name of the Government and people of the United States and in my own I send cordial greetings on this Independence Day and extend to Your Excellency cordial good wishes for the continued prosperity of your flourishing country, to which we are bound by ties of traditional friendship and understanding.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

Results of the election held in the Province of Tucumán late in April show a triumph of the Radical Party over the Liberals by a narrow margin. Only one Socialist representative was chosen; the Radicals elected eleven Senators and eighteen Deputies, the Liberals eight Senators and fifteen Deputies and the Independent Radicals of Monteros one Deputy.

The Governor of the Province of La Rioja issued a decree (April 27) pardoning those prosecuted for promoting a revolution last January. This decree, which pardoned sixteen citizens,

was signed by the Governor and his Minister of Government.

The Province of Córdoba, in closing the present fiscal year, reported no deficit. The annual message of Governor Roca early in May pointed out that political difficulties were virtually at an end, and that the present legislative period was the first in which all members had been chosen in accordance with the provisions of the reformed Constitution.

The Academia Americana de la Historia will hold at Buenos Aires, in October, a History and Geography Congress, to which a number of universities and historical societies in the United States and universities of other South American republics and of Europe will send delegates.

With a view to improving public health conditions in the Province of Buenos Aires, the Provincial Government decided to send two commissioners to Europe to study new methods in hospital construction and in the treatment of infectious diseases. Dr. Tomás A. Le Bretón, Minister of Agriculture, has been in Europe as a delegate to the recent International Congress of Emigration held in Rome, in which the Department of Agriculture was especially interested.

Radio amateurs in Buenos Aires received messages (May 21) from several stations in the United States. The Spanish concerts broadcast from Pittsburgh are regularly heard. An Argentine station was in communication for two hours with New Zealand on the evening of May 22. This was regarded as the record achievement to date in South American radio development.

## BRAZIL

PRESIDENT ALESSANDRI opened the year with his annual message, in which he reviewed the Administration activities of the previous year and urged the necessity of balancing the budget, with special attention to the collection of Federal revenue.

Brazilian exchange weakened during May; the serious port congestion at Santos and a slack coffee business, coupled with uncertainty regarding the political situation, were responsible for the unfavorable turn, which persisted despite the efforts of the Banco do Brazil to maintain stability. The market was depressed rather than stimulated by the announcement of the organization of Brazil Plantations Syndicate (Ltd.) in London with a capital of £200,000. This was the first tangible result of the British Financial Mission to Brazil and a much larger organization had been expected.

The Immigration Department of the Brazilian Government reported that 102,142 persons entered Brazilian ports during 1923. Of this number 86,767 were immigrants, an increase of 51,946

over 1922. Of the immigrants more than one-half were Portuguese, about one-fifth Italians and less than one-eighth Spaniards. Previous to 1914 Italian immigrants were far in excess of other nationalities. Should Brazil undertake the cultivation of cotton on a large scale, as has been proposed, the country would need at least 600,000 immigrants for purely agricultural pursuits.

Reports of the United States Department of Commerce showed that Brazil's foreign trade totaled \$566,000,000 in 1923; imports increased 9.4 per cent. over 1922 and exports 5 per cent. The reports further announced a favorable balance of trade amounting to \$103,000,000 for the year, which was the largest, except for 1919, in the history of the Republic. This balance, however, was misleading, since services on Brazil's foreign obligations amounted to approximately \$137,000,000 for the year, so that there actually existed an adverse balance of nearly \$35,000,000. Coffee, as usual, constituted nearly two-thirds of the total exports; imported goods came chiefly from Great Britain and the United States.

Senhor Irineu Machado, who was elected to the Brazilian Senate in February for the Federal District, has been unseated, and the election of Dr. Mendes Tavares, the Government candidate, has been confirmed by the National Congress.

## CHILE

PRESIDENT ALESSANDRI opened the new session of Congress on June 1. For the first time during his Administration the Government had a majority in both Houses of Congress. The Presidential message of some 60,000 words expressed the conviction that the final settlement of the Tacna-Arica controversy was at hand, and that the settlement of the dispute would satisfy Chilean national aspirations. Budget deficits, carried since 1920, totaled 160,000,000 pesos, it was announced, the budget for 1924 was still pending, owing to political strife, against which the President entered a strong protest. Current expenses were being borne by apportioning each month one-twelfth of the amount appropriated for each department in the budget for 1923. The Presidential message urged the establishment of a central bank to regulate exchange, furnish adequate credit facilities and generally to meet the country's financial needs.

The message also gave a résumé of the work of the fifth Pan-American Congress held last Spring in Santiago, advocated the construction of an additional railway connection between Chile and Argentina, proposed the enactment of legislation to settle labor difficulties, recommended prohibition in nitrate fields and in industrial centres, and paid tribute to the late Presidents Harding and Wilson.



## ECUADOR

**P**RESS reports in the United States announced on April 27 that a grant of territory, title to which is claimed by Ecuador, had been made by the Peruvian Government to an American syndicate in connection with the construction of a railroad from Paita to Hualлага, in Northern Peru. The report, which caused considerable apprehension in Ecuador, was officially denied on May 22 by the Peruvian Foreign Minister in a telegram to the Peruvian Legation in Ecuador.

## PARAGUAY

**M**R. ELEGIO AYALA, former Provisional President of Paraguay, was elected President on May 11 for a term of four years. Dr. Emanuel Burgos was chosen Vice President. The Liberal Party, headed by Dr. Ayala, met with but slight opposition, and there was little excitement during the polling.

## PERU

**T**HE Peruvian budget for 1924 estimated receipts for the year at 7,879,489 Peruvian pounds (approximately \$4.10 per pound). Estimated expenditures reached the same figure, somewhat more than one-third of the total being assigned to the Department of Agriculture, while the next largest sums were apportioned to the Departments of the Interior and Justice.

The Government virtually concluded in May an arrangement with New York bankers for a sum of \$6,000,000, to be secured through the sale of bonds. Reports from the financial district indicated that these would carry an interest rate of 8 per cent. and would sell at prices to yield about 7½ per cent. It was announced that the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, which held a contract for new loans floated in Peru, would participate in this issue.

Dr. Hernán Velarde, eminent juriconsult, publicist and diplomat, recently presented his credentials at the White House as Ambassador of Peru.

## VENEZUELA

**T**HE Venezuelan Congress, which began its legislative labors on April 19, will adjourn on July 5.

The full text of the message of President Gomez, presented to Congress soon after its convening, has now been received in the United States. Apart from his announcement that the assassins of his brother, General Juan C. Gómez, had been discovered, the President characterized the foreign relations of the republic as excellent, with the single exception of Mexico, which broke with Venezuela, he declared, as "the result of ill-directed passions." He further stated



Keystone

GONZALO CORDOVA

President-elect of Ecuador, whose term begins in September

that up to April 15 the National Treasury showed a balance of 64,000,000 bolivars [a bolivar, par value, equals \$0.193; exchange value June 12, par] and that the nation's total debt had been reduced to 106,178,400.16 bolivars; 41,603,246.06 for internal and 64,575,155.10 for foreign debts.

The President also referred to the great public works in execution, especially of the Carretera de los Andes (the public highway of the Andes), which reaches heights of more than 4,000 meters. This gigantic work, considered one of the most ambitious projects ever undertaken in Latin America, has aroused great enthusiasm among the population of the Andes region.

Native missions have been organized in the Caroní region, bordering on British Guiana, and a Bishop has been appointed to preside over them.

The demarkation of the frontier line between Venezuela and Colombia has progressed harmoniously. The work is being carried on by a mixed technical commission, composed of both Venezuelan and Colombian engineers, who were appointed by the President of Switzerland as arbiters for both Governments. Under one of his recent decisions the village of Viento, having an extension of 1,000 kilometers of territory, was assigned to Venezuela.

# The British Empire

By ARTHUR LYON CROSS

Hudson Professor of English History, University of Michigan

## GREAT BRITAIN

MR. ASQUITH has aptly described the situation in Great Britain as "unstable and precarious." Both the Conservative and Liberal leaders are indulging in a policy of "watchful waiting," warily on their guard against the introduction of radically socialistic legislation. Accordingly, Prime Minister MacDonald has thus far been unable to make good his assertion that the Government was to remain in office not to carry out Conservative or Liberal ideas but Labor ideas. The few extreme measures brought forward have been introduced by private members, without the Cabinet, officially at least, assuming responsibility. Such was the case with the Nationalization of Mines and Minerals bill introduced on May 16 and defeated by a vote of 264 to 168. The measure invited criticism in various respects. Royalties were to be confiscated instead of purchased. Although they run from £38,000 annually, in the case of Lord Durham, to £115,000 in the cases of the Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Bute, they amount only to sixpence (12 cents) a ton. Moreover, the price proposed for the collieries, £135,000,000, was said to be less than half their value. Finally, the plan provided that if there were any profits they should go back into the industry, but if there were losses they should be met by the taxpayer.

Mr. Baldwin has been making much of the Government's disregard of imperial preference while trying to come to terms with Russia. However, the budget received its second reading on May 13 without a division. A week previously motions to give preference to tea, cocoa and sugar produced in the empire failed entirely. Furthermore, the McKenna duties, protecting among other things automobiles, films, watches and clocks, come to an end on Aug. 1. The Government in the course of the debate made the statement that British workmen need not fear American competition in the motor industry, since the United States would absorb its own output. The Conservatives have also criticized the Labor Party on the score that it has done nothing for unemployment, in spite of the fact that they professed to have a scheme ready three years ago. Though Mr. Asquith admitted this charge, he and a goodly section of his followers saved the Government when a motion to reduce the salary of the

Minister of Labor was negated by 244 to 210. It was rumored that Mr. Lloyd George favored voting with the Opposition. At any rate, he was significantly absent during the discussion. Although Mr. Lloyd George has expressed himself as against any understanding, to say nothing of a coalition of the Liberals with either the Conservatives or Laborites, and is content for the present with a minority holding the balance of power, Mr. Baldwin is more receptive. In a speech on May 9 he manifested great willingness to consider favorably Winston Churchill's earnest plea, made at Liverpool two nights before, that the Conservatives and Liberals cooperate against socialism. This would not be a coalition, as Ronald McNeill subsequently explained, but something in the nature of a combination like that between the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists during the Home Rule struggle in 1886.

Mr. MacDonald has had further trouble keeping his unruly followers in hand. On May 9 there were very disorderly scenes in the House of Commons during a debate on the Scottish Home Rule bill; the Speaker's ruling was questioned and defied, with the consequence that he adjourned the House and left the chair. In a by-election at Kelvin Grove, Glasgow, where the Conservative candidate, Captain Elliott, carried the day, there occurred various disturbances. Thereupon the Prime Minister on May 22, in a message to Glasgow directed against rowdiness at political meetings, made the significant statement that "there are sections opposed to Toryism which we do not control and which are quite open in their declarations of hostility to us." Another by-election took place on June 5 at Oxford, where Mr. Gray was unseated on May 14 owing to the attempts of his agent to cover up expenses beyond the limit allowed by law. Captain R. C. Bourne, the Conservative candidate, won by a handsome majority; but it is noteworthy that Kenneth Lindsay, the first Labor candidate to contest this seat, polled nearly 3,000 votes.

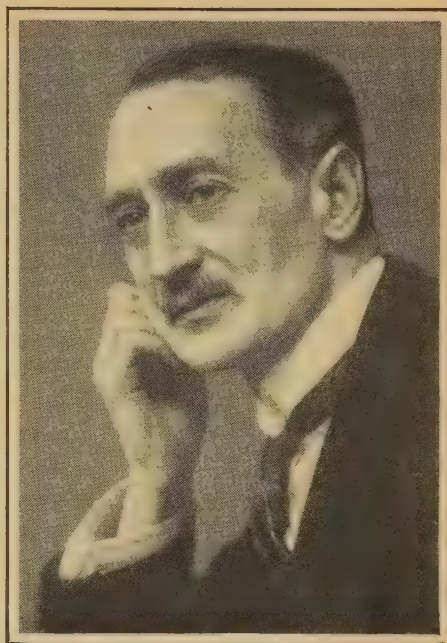
The Anglo-Russian Conference, from all indications, appears to be without result so far. While committees in London have been considering debts, claims and counterclaims, various groups and individuals in Russia have been persistent in their denunciation of the Bankers' Memorandum and the Labor Government. For example, the All Russian Council of Trade Unions, according to a telegram from Moscow



on April 24, has declared against recognizing debts of the Czarist and Kerensky régimes, against restoring private property to foreign owners and against commercial negotiations between British bankers and private Russian capitalists. Trotsky labels MacDonald as an "exchange broker's tout" and a "betrayer of labor," predicts a bloody conflict and declares that "Europe's only salvation is a social revolution." Moreover, the British are vehemently accused of fomenting strife on the Soviet borders in Turkestan, Persia and Afghanistan. The Russians have filed counter-claims amounting to £4,000,000,000 and are asking for £30,000,000 credits under the Trade Facilities act, but their defiant temper and their insistence that private contracts and private property strike at the very foundations of the Soviet system make it seem almost impossible to arrive at a workable agreement.

The Russians are hopeful that the "Communist mole is burrowing under MacDonald's stronghold," and the *Izvestiya* of Moscow publishes a statement that the Communists in Great Britain have been active in promoting and prolonging strikes through Communist members in trade unions and through special committees for sustaining maximum demands and a fighting spirit. Their chief vehicle of propaganda is *The Worker's Weekly*, which has a circulation approaching 100,000. Among other obstacles which the British Communists have to face is the moderating influence of the trade union leaders. Communist influence was active in the Wembley strike and, so it was charged, in one which broke out, June 4, among the shopmen and power-house workers of the London underground railroads. However, the men deny that they have any Bolshevik affiliations and assert that they are tired of the executive of the National Union of Railwaymen and have become disillusioned since their political representatives took office. At Manchester on May 18 the British Communists held their sixth annual congress, representing 132 local organizations, and framed a program to be transmitted to the next Communist International. This program included the nationalization of lands, mines, railroads and other properties without compensation; arming the proletariat; abolishing capitalistic law courts and establishing workers' tribunals; annulment of the public debt, with allowances to small investors; confiscation of all fortunes over £5,000; abolition of monarchy and all hereditary titles; cancellation of all war debts and reparations, and universal simultaneous disarmament. According to the Communists the maintenance of the British Empire was "an act of deadly enmity to the workers of the country" and the Labor leaders were traitors to the working class.

The Colwyn Committee, which is considering the national debt and incidence of taxation, has already held various meetings, but expects to be occupied for over a year. It is considering first



Keystone

LORD THOMSON  
British Air Minister in the MacDonald  
Cabinet.

the effect of existing taxes and will then pass to the more controversial subject of the capital levy.

Some labor disputes have been adjusted. On May 1 an increase of 10 shillings (\$2.43 at par) a week was granted to the ship repairers on the Mersey, as the result of negotiations which have been going on since February between the employers and the men's unions. Also, following the report of the court of inquiry into miners' wages, representatives of the Miners' Federation and the owners resumed negotiations and came to an agreement on May 15 regarding percentages of wages and profits. This was accepted by the miners' delegates on May 29. On the other hand, after the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives had accepted the employers' offer of an increase of fourteen pence (28 cents) an hour, with certain sliding scale arrangements depending on the cost of living index, 2,000 men in the Liverpool district went on strike on May 31, leading the employers to consider whether they would not bring about a nation-wide lockout.

In spite of bad weather the number of visitors to the Empire Exhibition at Wembley passed the million mark less than a month after the opening. The Secretary for Overseas Trade moved in the House of Commons on May 14 that the Government guarantee for the exhibition be increased from £100,000 to £600,000. The total

cost was estimated at £3,720,000 and the revenue, on the basis of 30,000,000 visitors, at £3,800,000. The exhibition has been described as the "most impressive display of products of nature, as of the achievements of applied science and of the skilled workmanship that depends on applied science perhaps ever presented to the eyes of man."

For the first time in ten years a force of four divisions of infantry and two cavalry brigades is being trained in Great Britain this Summer, but there will be no grand manoeuvres. The present British Expeditionary Force is one-third weaker than in 1914. Only one-fourth of the total is ready for immediate mobilization and dispatch overseas, and the reserves are not sufficient to mobilize the remainder or provide for wastage, according to *The London Times*. On May 8 it was reported that the British had decided in favor of a Channel tunnel which the French have long favored; indeed, the latter began work in 1883 and had completed one mile when the British stopped them. The respective countries are each to build a half.

## IRELAND

THE question of the adjustment of the boundaries between Northern Ireland (Ulster) and the Irish Free State continues to be acute. After repeated conferences with President Cosgrave, Sir James Craig, the Ulster Premier, has steadily refused to appoint a Commissioner in accordance with the treaty of December, 1921, between the British Government and the Free State by which the boundaries of the six Northern counties were to be adjusted in case they preferred to continue the status conferred on them by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. According to the interpretation of the Free State, it is not a mere question of adjusting boundary lines, but of securing the two counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh as well as South Down, South Armagh and Derry City, where there are Roman Catholic majorities. Sir James Craig is willing to stand by the arrangement which he made in January, 1922, with the late Michael Collins, whereby each was to select a representative, and, on the basis of their findings, settle the question by mutual agreement between the Premiers of the two Irish Governments. Moreover, he is willing to give up certain territories "Roman from top to bottom"; but further he will not go. On May 5 the Free State appointed John McNeill as its Commissioner, while, after some delay the British Government on June 5 named as Chairman Justice Richard Feetham of the South African Supreme Court.

The outcome is awaited with grave anxiety. Not only is there much hot blood on both sides of the border, but the period of war prosperity has been followed by much destitution. Lands have been abandoned, businesses have been wound up

and taxes are heavy. The British administration cost some £8,000,000 a year, while now the Free States is spending over £30,000,000, a significant increase, even if allowance is made for all the other factors entering into the situation. While railway rates have gone up 50 or 60 per cent. in England they have increased 120 per cent. in Ireland. On March 31 the Free State debt was £13,912,150, as against £2,531,000 in 1922. This includes the loan of £10,000,000, which was oversubscribed. Since the 1924-25 budget is not expected to balance by £8,500,000, another loan will be necessary. The Minister of Finance has reduced the supertax on incomes over £8,000 a year from 30 per cent. to 22½ per cent. in order to induce the rich to return. However, prospects of stable conditions are not very alluring, for the present at least. On May 20 Ulster voted £849,004 for keeping her constabulary at full strength. The Free State Government have named five former officers of the Cork Republican Brigade as the culprits in the Queenstown outrage of March 21 and offer a large reward for their capture. The men accused deny their guilt, stating that they have been on the run for two years and that the Government is employing this means of securing them.

Great poverty is reported in Dublin. On May 21 the Minister of Home Affairs dissolved the Dublin City Council for incompetence. It is charged that the city rates are the highest in Europe, that the salary roll is altogether too great and that the streets are the dirtiest of any important capital city. A commission of three has been appointed to institute reforms.

## CANADA

THERE is a feeling in Canada that the British budget has sealed the fate of imperial preference. Consequently, in view of Australia's determination to seek new markets outside Great Britain, the Canadian Minister of Finance has approached the Commonwealth with offers of reciprocity in preference. American motor producers who have plants in Canada will of course continue to enjoy preferential rates in other parts of the empire. Canada, it is interesting to notice, is the second best of the foreign markets of the United States.

After an all-night session and over sixteen hours of debate, in which Mr. Meighan, the Opposition leader, was most determined in his attacks, the budget was adopted by the Canadian House of Commons on May 16 by a vote of 165 to 53. It totals \$400,571,000. In addition to the reductions in revenue amounting to upward of \$30,000,000, Prime Minister Mackenzie King promises further reductions and readjustments. He will appoint a committee on taxation and tariff, but is opposed to a permanent tariff commission on the ground that such a body would usurp the func-



tions of the Government. He has announced that there will be no immediate general election, thus contradicting recent rumors that one would be held at an early date.

The note of the Canadian Government transmitted to Secretary Hughes by the British Ambassador protesting against further diversion of the waters of the Great Lakes for the Chicago-Gulf of Mexico Canal and for power and drainage purposes was published on May 4. Canada has been informed of the status of the suit of the Federal Government against Chicago now on appeal before the Supreme Court. The Government won in the lower court its claim to enjoin Chicago from diverting more than 4,167 feet a second from Lake Michigan. As to the proposed legislation authorizing 10,000 feet per second, Canada has been informed that nothing will be done until hearings are completed before the Rivers and Harbors Committee.

It was reported on May 4 that farm lands in the Prairie Provinces were in fine condition, better than last year, though on May 19 it was stated that the season in Ontario was two weeks behind. The Canadian export of wheat has increased by 2,000 per cent. since 1900—from 9,359,640 to 229,681,000 bushels. The Canadian mining industry has "experienced the most successful year it has ever had from the standpoint of development and production." There have been slight decreases in the output of gold and silver; but the new gold fields to which so many are rushing in Quebec may soon change the balance in the case of the former metal.

## NEWFOUNDLAND

**M**R. HICKMAN, who on May 10 formed a Ministry to succeed Mr. Warren, was, according to early forecasts, defeated at the general election on June 3.

## AUSTRALIA

**I**N all likelihood Prime Minister Bruce will reach a trade agreement with Canada by conceding the same benefits now granted to Great Britain, notably in the case of newsprint and motor cars. He is disappointed that Great Britain is not prepared to give benefits equivalent to those which Australia is offering her; benefits that amount to about £18,000,000 annually. When the Commonwealth Parliament reassembled on May 7, a motion was introduced to abolish those preferences and enter into reciprocal relations with other countries.

Since the Imperial conference and the abandonment of the Singapore base there has been the greatest demand for several years for an Australian self-contained defense system. The Minister of Defense has an enlarged cruiser program, plans for a number of airplane bases and addi-

tions to the munitions works. Nevertheless, the Government has declared in favor of President Coolidge's proposal for another conference for the reduction of armaments.

A flight of nearly 9,000 miles around Australia was completed on May 19, five minutes ahead of the projected time of less than 100 flying hours. The purpose was three-fold: To survey the coast, to determine sites for airplane bases, and to test the effect of tropical conditions on airplanes. The air service inaugurated in December, 1921, has been a boon to settlers in remote parts, by carrying mails and goods, providing medical aid and observing fires.

The Premier of the State of New South Wales declares that Government shipbuilding has been a losing concern and is prepared in this industry as in railway construction to give opportunities to private enterprise. On the other hand, the new Labor Government in South Australia is planning a most extensive enlargement of State activities.

The Hume Reservoir, which is being built at the junction of the Murray and Mitta Mitta Rivers, is reported to be the most remarkable in the world. It has the largest artificial lake ever constructed. Originally projected for irrigation, it is to be used also to produce hydro-electric power.

On June 4 it was stated by the Managing Director of the Amalgamated Wireless Company that he had been for four days in wireless telephone communication with Cornwall, England, over 10,000 miles away, and had heard distinctly.

## NEW ZEALAND

**N**EW ZEALAND public opinion expresses regret but no surprise at the attitude of the British Government toward imperial preference.

Prime Minister Massey declared on April 28 that the last had not been heard of the Singapore base, that if it were built New Zealand would pay her full share, and if not, the dominion would offer to maintain another cruiser. In either case, the cost would be about £250,000. His statement has been warmly received by the press, and it is stated that it reflects the sentiment of 90 per cent. of the New Zealand people.

After eight days the railroad strike collapsed on April 29. The Government promptly organized an emergency service and refused to consider any demands till the men returned to work.

## SOUTH AFRICA

**G**ENERAL SMUTS, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, has plunged valiantly into the election campaign. At Pretoria on April 23 he described the achievements of his Government and outlined his program. At the last election, he pointed out, the first and greatest

object of reducing racialism by combining the Unionist and South African Parties into a harmonious whole had been accomplished. A second object had been to defeat secession, an ultimate aim of the Nationalist Party, but even Colonel Cresswell's pact had only secured a respite from that menace. The third object of his Government had been "to steer the country with safety and credit through the troubled times ahead." This they had undertaken in the midst of business depression, deepened by the revolt on the Rand, unemployment, the greatest drought for fifty years and an exceptional plague of locusts. Nevertheless, heavy deficits had been wiped out and remission of taxation made possible. General Smuts further outlined his plans for industrial and agricultural development, criticized the policies of his opponents, notably segregation of the natives and monetary inflation, and declared that the pact was "a conspiracy hatched in darkness."

During May the Prime Minister grew more optimistic. Not only the big towns, but the country districts and public opinion generally seemed to be working round in his favor. Many began to question whether the Labor-Nationalist pact would improve present conditions. Moreover, there were rumors of dissensions in the Labor Party, one faction denouncing the pact and another complaining that Colonel Cresswell's party gave no direct representation to the large industrial unions. Mrs. Smuts took an active part in the campaign, and addressed various women's meetings. Women have no vote in the Union, but General Smuts is in favor of granting them the franchise.

The British budget did not arouse much popular interest, but the more thoughtful feared that disregard of imperial interests might offer a handle to the Nationalists, on the ground that one of the Prime Minister's darling objects had been disregarded.

The Government recommended to the Governor-General that the prisoners in the Bulhoek and Bondelswart risings and the Rand revolt be released on May 19, the day the Prince of Wales was due to arrive. Colonel Maritz, the leading spirit in the revolt of 1914, brought to trial after years of exile, has been sentenced to three years' hard labor.

At the Moscow meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youths' International on May 5 it was reported that the Central Committee

of South Africa had been conducting an intensive propaganda among the colored workers in mines and on plantations, but that their lack of education and racial prejudice impeded progress. Nevertheless, pamphlets in various native languages have been distributed and two new African Communist organizations established.

## INDIA

THE Chairman of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China expresses the opinion that, in spite of political unrest, the condition of India is, on the whole, satisfactory. With the budget no longer showing a deficit, the financial situation is good, the tea industry is prosperous, the jute production "is holding its own" and there are good crops of wheat, cereals and oil seeds, though prices need adjusting, for quotations from the East are higher than from the West.

The official committee appointed by the Government in connection with the departmental inquiry into the Government of India act of 1919 held its first meeting on April 22. Its purpose is to consider only defects in details, since the Government does not contemplate any general revision until 1929. The same day, according to a statement by Mrs. Annie Besant, a national convention was established at Allahabad. It includes all who are working for home rule—Liberals, National Home Rulers, Swarajists and Independents, and is to be composed of members of the Legislature with power to coöpt. They pledge themselves to seek authority from Great Britain for an independent body to frame a Constitution for India with dominion status. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has been elected President and Mr. Sastri Vice President. They have sanctioned sending a deputation to England.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer on June 5 won his libel suit in the King's Bench Court in London against Sir Sankaran Nair for the latter's statements in a book entitled "Gandhi and Anarchy," reflecting on Sir Michael's administration as Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. The presiding Judge strongly condemned the Government of India for removing General Dyer from his command as a result of the methods employed by him in suppressing the Amritsar rising in 1919, when his troops killed and wounded several hundred natives.





# France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS  
Professor of History, University of Minnesota

**F**OLLOWING upon the victory of the Radicals, Socialists and other groups of the Left at the elections on May 11, France has passed through a momentous political crisis marked not only by the resignation of Prime Minister Poincaré but by the even more dramatic episode of the enforced retirement from his high position of the President of the Republic, Alexandre Millerand.

Edouard Herriot, Mayor of Lyons, and leader of the Left, seemed logically the next Prime Minister. At a conference with President Millerand, on May 21, he was formally assured that he would be asked to form a Government as soon as Poincaré resigned. Herriot, in expectation of becoming Prime Minister, had already made public statements indicating how far he was willing to follow or diverge from his predecessor. For example, on May 18 he had announced that he did not question France's debt to the United States, but that he hoped America would be reasonable, and that therefore he had no fear of reaching a settlement. As to reparations, he was heartily in favor of the Dawes report as "an excellent basis for a real settlement" with Germany. On the other hand, there would be no premature evacuation of the Ruhr, although he wanted "support from the German democracy for French liberalism. In return German Democrats could count on our [French Liberals'] fullest support and sympathy in their struggle for development." He favored resuming normal intercourse with Russia, "but there must be conditions. We cannot let ourselves be taken for simpletons. We must remember that Russia is in debt to us."

The situation was soon intensified, however, by two facts, the fall of the franc and the determination of the parties of the Left to force the President out of office. The franc, which just before the elections had risen to the relatively high value of 6½ cents, began dropping again in a most ominous manner, because, financial circles alleged, it was feared lest the incoming Government might indulge in new fiscal extravagances and fail to balance its budget. Repeatedly the franc dipped below 5 cents. This led to assurances by Herriot that he intended to "defend the franc," to stabilize its value and to prevent a new deficit. At the same time he criticized severely the statesmanship that had permitted the borrowing of \$100,000,000 from the American banking syndicate headed by J. P. Morgan & Co., on "exorbitant

terms." Some of Herriot's associates expressed indignation that France had been treated "like Turkey" by the American financiers, on the ground that the gold in the Bank of France had to be pledged as security. Herriot stated, on June 2, that he had been incorrectly quoted as criticizing the American bankers, and promised a "sane financial policy founded on a rigorous balancing of the budget."

More important in a political sense was the crisis that arose out of the demand that President Millerand resign. The Left, including the Radical Socialists, who are really Liberals, and the Unified Socialists, the direct political representatives of the workers, had decided that they would permit no Government to carry on so long as Millerand remained at the Elysée. The reason for this was that the President had worked with Poincaré to form the National Bloc and had gone outside the non-partisan sphere within which the President is confined by tradition and the spirit of the French republican scheme of government.

Events began to move rapidly with the assembling of the new Chamber on June 1. That morning Premier Poincaré led his Cabinet to the Elysée, where he handed to President Millerand the following letter signed by all the members of the Government: "Conforming to a decision taken by the Government on the morrow of the general elections, we have the honor to submit to you the collective resignation of the Cabinet." The President made the usual request that the Ministers carry on current business until the formation of a new Cabinet.

Then came the meeting of the parties of the Left Bloc, attended by Radical Socialists, Unified Socialists, Republican Socialists and the new group known as the Radical Left, in all 307 members of the Chamber of Deputies and fifteen more than it was thought the Left Bloc commanded. After Paul Painlevé, a former Prime Minister, had been chosen as candidate for President of the Chamber, a motion declaring that Millerand should resign was adopted with a roar that drowned every, if any, dissenting voice. Nevertheless, Herriot was not altogether enthusiastic on the issue, and had opposed a previous proposal not to permit any member of his party to accept office from Millerand. For that reason the motion as adopted read:

The group of Deputies who are members of the Radical Republican and Radical Socialist

Parties, considering that Alexandre Millerand, contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, took a personal part in politics;

That he only sided with the National Bloc;

That the National Bloc has been condemned by the country;

Thinks that maintenance at the Elysée of Alexandre Millerand wounds the Republican conscience and will be a source of incessant conflicts between the Government and the Chief of State and a constant danger to the Republican régime itself.

The Republican Socialists, to which party Briand and Painlevé belong, adopted the following resolution:

It is impossible to conceive of the slightest collaboration with M. Millerand, who has misunderstood the duty of his office in assuming the direction of foreign and domestic policies in a sense condemned by the country.

The Unified Socialists passed a long resolution condemning Millerand's effort to make the Elysée a real political factor and concluding with the following two paragraphs:

Our Parliamentary group receives instructions to oppose any Government which agrees to constitute itself and act under M. Millerand.

In case M. Millerand, persisting in his obstinacy, finds a Parliamentary accomplice outside the majority of the 11th of May to assume the responsibility of violating or deforming the decision of universal suffrage, the permanent Administrative Commission and the Parliamentary group are instructed to engage immediately, with the aid of all federations of the party, in a campaign of agitation destined to force respect for the wishes of the country.

The last paragraph conveyed in veiled form the intention of the Socialists to call a general strike if Millerand refused to resign.

As the Communist newspaper, *Humanité*, had already declared that the 29 Communist votes would be against Millerand, there were now 336 members of the House pledged to oust the President.

Painlevé, having been elected President of the Chamber of Deputies on June 4, he and Gaston Doumergue, President of the Senate, were the following day summoned by the President for formal consultation as to the choice of a new Prime Minister. Herriot, having been recommended by both presiding officers, was invited to form a Cabinet, but refused. The President's attitude was defined in the official statement subsequently issued from the Elysée, which read in part:

The Deputy of the Rhône [Herriot] having raised the Presidential question, M. Millerand declared that he could not agree to examine this question, consideration of which was forbidden by respect for the law.

The Constitution had fixed at seven years the length of the Presidential mandate. Called to the Elysée for seven years, the President considered it his duty toward the Republic and toward France to stay there until the legal end of his term. M. Millerand expressed the resolve to do all in his power to assure respect for the Constitution and avoid a precedent the peril of which could not be measured.

Millerand's next move was to consult various other leaders, in the hope of bringing about the formation of a Cabinet, possibly under a member

of the Left who could command the support of the Right, and so have enough votes to carry on the Government. The President's efforts met with failure. Meanwhile the Left was preparing to "starve out" the Government by taking control of the national funds. With this object in view, a bill was introduced in the Chamber on June 6 to repeal the biennial budget system and replace it by monthly provisional credits, which would make it possible to cut off all money supplies required by the Executive and its various departments.

Realizing the impossibility of securing assistance from any section of the Left for the formation of a new Cabinet, Millerand at last decided to resign, but according to a plan which he hoped would enable him to have the Presidential issue brought before the two houses of Parliament. Frédéric François-Marsal, Finance Minister in the Poincaré Cabinet, was therefore on June 7 sent for to form what could only be a stop-gap Government. The following day the personnel of the new Cabinet, which included members of the retiring Cabinet and of the Millerand Cabinet of 1920, was announced, as follows:

FREDERIC FRANÇOIS-MARSAL—Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.

EDMOND LEFEBVRE DU PREY—Foreign Minister.

SENATOR RATIER—Minister of Justice.

JUSTIN DE SELVES—Minister of the Interior.

ANDRÉ MAGINOT—Minister of War and Pensions.

DESIRÉ FERRY—Minister of the Navy.

PAUL JOURDAIN—Minister of Labor and Health.

YVES LE TROCQUER—Minister of Public Works.

M. LANDRY—Minister of Education.

PIERRE FLANDIN—Minister of Commerce.

M. CAPUS—Minister of Agriculture.

LOUIS MARIN—Minister of Devastated Regions.

JEAN FABRY—Minister of Colonies.

As soon as the two houses met on June 10, the following message from the President was read:

When the National Assembly did me the honor to call me by 685 votes to the supreme magistrature it knew by my public statements that I would only consent to go to the Elysée Palace to defend a national policy of social progress, ordered labor and union.

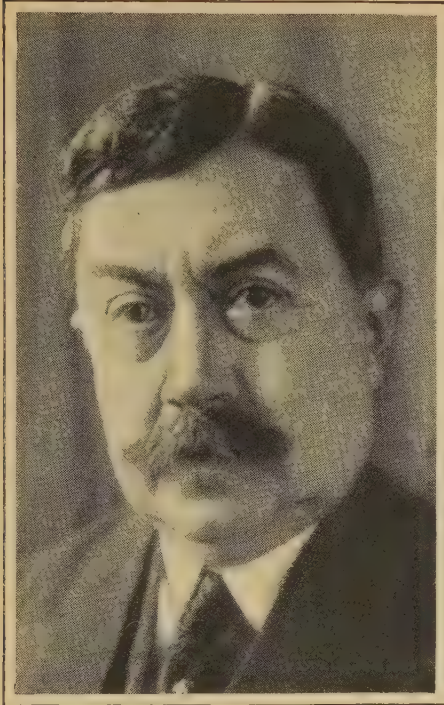
The solemn engagement I took before the country I have kept. France is athirst for peace, labor and concord. She wants a foreign policy which, in accord with the Allies, will assure her security, reparation, application of the Versailles Treaty and respect of all the diplomatic acts which have instituted the new European order.

This external policy calls for an interior policy inspired by the teachings of the war, founded on an agreement between Frenchmen, respect for opinions and faiths, care to introduce always more equity and generosity into social relations, and determination to safeguard France's credit by maintaining a rigorous balance between expenditures and the public income.

Those ideas have always directed my action; they will continue to guide it. By stipulating that the President of the Republic is responsible to the Parliament only in the case of high treason, the Constitution willed that for the national interest of stability and continuity, the Presidential power should be kept sheltered from political fluctuations.

You will respect the Constitution. If you misinterpret it, if it were to be henceforth understood that the arbitrary action of the majority could oblige the President of the Republic to retire for political motives, the President would be no more than a toy in the parties' hands.





PAUL PAINLEVÉ

The new President of the French Chamber of Deputies

You will aid me to avert such a redoubtable peril. I have refused to desert my post. It is not from Parliament, charged with voting laws and seeing to it that they are respected, that the signal and example for their violation can come.

Dangerous counselors, in partisan interest, are trying to see that the new Legislature begins with a revolutionary act by the Chamber. I will refuse to follow them.

The Senate will wish to remain, as formerly in the gravest circumstances, the defender of the Constitution. I appeal confidently to the wisdom of both chambers, to their prudence and to their love of France and of the republic.

Conscious of my duty, I have assumed my responsibilities. The hour has come for Parliament to assume its own. The constitutional question, as important for the future of republican institutions as that raised by the present crisis, cannot be settled in the shadows by the decisions of individuals or groups.

Premier François-Marsal, after reading his message, made the following statement:

You have just heard the message from the President of the Republic. The Government now before you has been constituted solely to permit both houses of Parliament to act as judges in the conflict of constitutional order which has been open for a few days outside Parliament, but of which Parliament is the sole judge. Thus we have no governmental program to present to you. Our mission has a limited, precise purpose. Either you shall tell us—as we ask you—that the constitutional laws must remain sacred and above party politics. In this case the authority of your vote shall indicate to the chiefs of the majority created by the May 11 elections that it is their duty to accept from the

President of the Republic the power which he has offered them and assume charge of the destinies of France. Or, by a vote which will permit each and every one unequivocally to assume his own responsibilities, you will declare that you do not approve the principles formulated in the message of the President of the Republic, which we are defending before you and which form the basis of our republican Constitution. In the latter case we will render account of the failure of our mission to the Chief of State, who will then take whatever decision is the consequence of such a result. We appeal to your conscience and reason. This debate must take place outside all equivocations. The vote which you are about to take interests the future of the republican régime in the highest degree. Respect for legality is the guarantee of our republican institutions and the safeguard of our public liberty.

After a short and angry debate in the Chamber, during which Herriot and Briand refused to speak, the question was settled on a technical motion presented by M. Herriot to adjourn all discussion of the message by a vote of 329 to 214. In the Senate the result was 154 against and 144 for the President. Next day (June 11) Millerand resigned, and the two houses of Parliament were summoned to meet in joint session as a National Assembly at Versailles on June 13 to elect his successor.

The members of the Left were divided in their choice of a candidate for President between Gaston Doumergue, President of the Senate, and Paul Painlevé, President of the Chamber. On the evening of June 11 Herriot called together the leaders of the parties of the Left and decided in favor of Painlevé, conveying at the same time an intimation to Doumergue that he should withdraw. This Doumergue refused to do, even after a caucus of the Left parties in the two houses next day (June 12) decided for Painlevé by 306 votes to 149. Just before the meeting Doumergue issued a statement that he was not "a candidate before the caucus." This left him free to be nominated in the National Assembly. The Nationalists and other parties of the Right, taking advantage of the division among the members of the Left, voted solidly for Doumergue, who was thus elected President. There was only one ballot, resulting as follows: Doumergue, 515; Painlevé, 309; Cameline (the Communist candidate), 32; scattered, 9; total, 865. It is interesting to note that Doumergue is the first Protestant to be President of the Republic.

The new President having been immediately installed at the Elysée, his first act on June 14 was to send for Herriot and invite him to form a Cabinet. With the Presidential issue settled, Herriot now agreed to head the Government, and the following new Cabinet was announced the same day:

EDOUARD HERRIOT—Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.  
GENERAL MAURICE NOLLET—Minister of War.  
RENE RENOULT—Minister of Justice.  
CAMILLE CHAUTEMPS—Minister of the Interior.  
ETIENNE CLEMENTEL—Minister of Finance.  
JACQUES DUMESNIL—Minister of the Navy.  
M. RAYNALDY—Minister of Commerce.  
VICTOR PEYTRAL—Minister of Public Works.  
FRANÇOIS ALBERT—Minister of Education.

JUSTIN GODART—Minister of Labor and Health.  
 EDOUARD DALADIER—Minister of the Colonies.  
 EDOUARD BOVIER-LAPIERRE—Minister of Pensions.  
 M. QUEUILLE—Minister of Agriculture.  
 VICTOR DALBIEZ—Minister of Liberated Regions.

In addition the following Under Secretaries were appointed:

PIERRE ROBERT—Ports and Telegraphs.  
 LEON MEYER—Merchant Marine.  
 LAURENT EYNAC—Aviation.  
 VINCENT DE MORO-GIAFFERI—Technical Instruction.

A hopeful sign for the future of Europe has been the marked success of the French Save the Children Committee, in raising funds for the relief of suffering Austrian and German children. Although the organization has been subjected to considerable criticism, very substantial gifts have been received. Many of the donors who lived in the French occupied districts seized this opportunity to testify to the personal kindness of many German soldiers during the invasion. As Mme. Dubost, President of the organization, stated: "You may be sure that this generous action by a group of French people will aid the cause of reconciliation. When it is a matter of suffering children, we don't ask: 'Who is at fault?'"

The French Government on May 29 received from John D. Rockefeller Jr. a gift of \$1,000,000 for the reconstruction of the roof of the Cathedral of Rheims, for repairs to the fountains in the great park at Versailles and for the general reconditioning of the Palace at Fontainebleau and its grounds.

## BELGIUM

LATE in May public interest in Belgium centred largely on the sensational trial of Baron Evence Coppe, a leading Belgian industrialist, who was accused of having furnished munitions to the Germans during the World War. As the case wound its tedious length through the courts it took on increasingly wide ramifications. The defendant was charged with having supplied the Germans with enormous quantities of the by-products of coal, including benzol and oil tar, which were used in the manufacture of explosives and asphyxiating gases. The defense claimed that all transactions were with the consent of the Belgian Government, then located at La Harve. Two hundred witnesses have been subpoenaed to give evidence.

King Albert on May 19 attended a ceremony commemorating the settlement of the Walloon Huguenots on the banks of the Hudson River in 1624.... Speeches suitable to the occasion were delivered by former Premier Carton de Wiart, and by M. Pirenne, the distinguished historian. The latter announced that a stone from Hainaut

(whence came these settlers) had been sent to New York to be placed in a modest monument honoring the memory of this colonization.

William Phillips, the new United States Ambassador, presented his credentials to the Belgian Foreign Ministry on May 27.

The dredging of the Scheldt is proceeding satisfactorily, and the ship channel to Antwerp is expected to be soon restored to normal conditions. The river has recently been partially obstructed by silting due to wrecks in the main channel, but this has not interfered with the entrance of ordinary sized cargo ships.

Statistics for the first four months of this year show that 6,909,000 tons of shipping entered the port of Antwerp, as compared with 6,726,000 tons in the corresponding period last year, and that 7,023,000 tons of shipping cleared in the first four months of 1924, as compared with 6,692,000 tons in the corresponding period of 1923. Preliminary figures for the month of May, 1924, show approximately the same average as the preceding months and indicate that the traffic of this year will probably show another increase over 1923, which had been the "banner year" in the whole history of Antwerp.

Total exports from Belgium during the first four months of 1924 also show a substantial increase over the corresponding period in 1923, viz.: 4,373,000,000 francs for that period in 1924, as compared with 2,493,000,000 francs in 1923.

Vigorous measures have been taken to end the railway transportation difficulties which have caused a partial embargo on freight entering and leaving the Belgian Congo by the West Coast. The larger part of American trade with the Belgian colony is through Matadi, near the mouth of the Congo River. On account of the rapids above this port, all traffic from the west coast to the interior is obliged to pass over the railroad from the seaport of Matadi to Leopoldville on the plateau above the falls. The enormous increase in traffic of late, both imports and exports, has outgrown the facilities of the railway. The railroad is now being improved, electrified and new rolling stock installed. In the meantime there has been considerable congestion of both inward and outward freight. Additional railway mechanics have been sent out to the Congo and thirty-one new locomotives of the most approved type have been ordered. Two of these engines are already on the way to Africa, three will be sent in early July and, thereafter, delivery is promised at the rate of one locomotive per week. It is expected that the freight situation will be entirely cleared up by the late Summer or early Autumn. The improvement and electrification of the road will give it a capacity of two million tons of both inward and outward freight.



# Germany and Austria

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## GERMANY

**F**INAL figures for the Reichstag elections, held throughout Germany on May 4, showed that nearly 30,000,000 votes were cast; an approximate alignment of the total poll follows:

Party.	Popular Vote.	Deputies.
Social Democrats .....	6,000,000	100
Nationalists .....	5,800,000	96
Centrists .....	3,900,000	65
Communists .....	3,740,000	62
People's Party .....	2,640,000	44
Freedom Party .....	1,960,000	32
Democrats .....	1,650,000	28
Bavarian People's Party.....	946,000	16
Bavarian Farmers' League....	684,000	10
National Liberal Union.....	574,000	10
German Social Party.....	338,000	4
Hanover Party .....	319,000	5
National Minorities .....	13,000	0
Christian Social Union.....	124,000	0
Independent Socialists .....	234,000	0
Scattered votes .....	35,000	0

More than 800,000 votes were wasted by the eleven "mushroom" parties; the Vorwärts contended that these votes weakened the showing of the Left, especially the Socialists. The majority of the 206 new Deputies elected were Communists, members of the Freedom Party and German Nationalists.

Pandemonium reigned at the opening session of the new Reichstag; when the roll-call started the Communist Deputies created a scene of wild disorder, which terminated in their singing "The International." All signs pointed to a turbulent legislative period, inasmuch as the Communist representation was comparatively strong and the Nationalist delegation contained, in addition to General Ludendorff and von Tirpitz, such distinguished politicians as Count Bernstorff, former German Ambassador to the United States; Prince Bismarck, grandson of the "Iron Chancellor"; Dr. Hergt and Counts Reventlow and von Westarp.

Although both the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left were in belligerent mood, neither was in a position to dominate the country. At the opening there was some indication that the Nationalists might effect a compromise with the Government Coalition; Nationalist leaders, indeed, went so far as to propose the name of von Tirpitz for the Chancellorship. The Government parties, however, refused absolutely to consider von Tirpitz, whereupon the Nationalists put forward the name of Prince von Bülow, former Imperial Chancellor, who likewise was rejected by the bourgeois Coalition.

The Government parties, imbued with a new

feeling of strength as a result of the German and French elections, refused to permit the Nationalists to cooperate in the Government unless they first declared themselves in favor of the Dawes report and the Government's general foreign policy. The Nationalists, having waged their election campaign on an anti-Entente and anti-Dawes report platform, declined to grant this demand, and countered with the request, as conditional to their cooperation, that Foreign Minister Stresemann be eliminated; that the Nationalist Party be placed in control of the new Government, and that German foreign policy be changed to "one compatible with German honor." Others, however, were ready to go further, and, on May 26, thirty-two of the more reactionary members of the party formulated a program which demanded (1) immediate election of a new President, (2) repeal of the law for the protection of the republic, (3) amnesty for all participants in the Munich and Knestrin revolts, (4) trial on the charge of treason of all who participated in the revolution of November, 1918, and collaborated with the Soviet Government, (5) expulsion of all Jews who have entered Germany since 1914, partial confiscation of their property and abolition of their right to change Jewish names, (6) that all Jews be placed under special legislation.

These demands were vigorously opposed by the Centrum and the Democrats. The German People's Party, third member of the Coalition, showed more friendliness toward the Nationalists, and endeavored to reach a middle ground, but without avail. Finally, on May 30, the Nationalists officially acknowledged their inability to cooperate with the middle parties, and all hope of harmony with the reactionaries thus came definitely to an end. Meanwhile, the Marx-Stresemann Cabinet having resigned, Chancellor Marx was commissioned by President Ebert to form a new Government. On June 3 he reported that he would retain his pre-election Cabinet, but since the Socialists had indicated a willingness to support the Government, there was a possibility that Minister of Interior Jarres would eventually be sacrificed to please them.

The immediate fate of the Marx Government was decided on June 6 when the Reichstag expressed confidence by a vote of 247 to 183. The vote was taken after Foreign Minister Stresemann had made a vigorous defense of the Government's

acceptance of the Dawes report and after the Reichstag had defeated a motion introduced by the Extremists of the Right for a vote of lack of confidence. The victory for the Government followed two days of debate, throughout which both the Communists and the Nationalists showed their mutual antagonism. Chancellor Marx declared that Germany was tottering on the brink of economic ruin, and that acceptance and fulfillment of the Dawes plan were her only hope; he also declared that the Government headed by him would do all in its power to meet the obligations placed upon Germany under the report. Dr. Stresemann in a strong speech hailed the report as "the economic bible of the present era;" he urged that Germany win the friendship of the United States and that foreign affairs take precedence over home problems. Count von Westarp, Nationalist leader, assailed the report as biased and denounced the Government for advocating its acceptance. The Communists' attitude was expressed by Ruth Fischer, who called the Reichstag "a masquerade of capitalistic dictatorship." An analysis of the vote showed that, in addition to the three middle parties, the Government, in so far as the Dawes report was concerned, could count on the support of the United Socialists, the Bavarian People's Party and the Economic League.

In emphasizing the importance of accepting the Dawes plan, Chancellor Marx insisted that before Germany could carry out its part of the program, the Ruhr would have to be freed, Ruhr prisoners released, and the thousands exiled from their homes by the occupying forces allowed to return. Dr. Stresemann took a similar stand; he said that the Government was determined to combat the charge that Germany was responsible for the World War, adding that the Government would soon complete publication of German documents bearing on the events which precipitated the war, and would demand similar publication by the Entente countries of documents in their archives.

The Council of the Empire approved the 1924 budget of 6,000,000,000 gold marks. Failure by Germany to levy and collect taxes in the occupied territory will reduce her revenue by 800,000,000 gold marks. German financial circles were greatly worried over the cessation of foreign purchases of German stocks and bonds. Deneufville & Co., one of the oldest private banks in Germany, decided to close its doors, and this was followed by the closing of a number of mushroom banks, which had sprung up during the period of financial inflation. The two largest oil companies in Germany, the Deutsche Erdoel and the Deutsche Petroleum, concluded a merger for the purpose of working the Russian field in connection with the Standard Oil Company's German representative.

The trial of Herren Thormann and Grandel, accused of having plotted the assassination of General von Seeckt, terminated on June 5, when a verdict of acquittal was returned. With the exception of the extreme Nationalist organs, the German press condemned the verdict and expressed the hope that the case would be appealed. Despite the acquittal, the case tended to discredit the Nationalists; von Seeckt himself testified that Herr Class, head of the Pan-German League, had proposed that von Seeckt enter into an anti-Government plot for the purpose of overthrowing the republic; the Pan-German League chief denied the allegation. Other witnesses involved both General Ludendorff and Count Reventlow in the plot. Adolph Hitler, who continued to maintain that his abortive uprising saved Germany from a "Stinnes dictatorship," was reported to be preparing a book for publication. George Bernhard, editor of the *Vossische Zeitung*, charged the Nationalists with planning a coup d'état to put William Frederick, eldest son of the former Crown Prince Frederick, on the throne, with von Tirpitz as Chancellor-Regent.

Such prestige as the Communists enjoyed was seriously modified when, on June 3, Herr Loebe, Socialist leader, read a long report of a committee appointed to investigate accusations against certain members of the Reichstag Communist delegation imprisoned in Bavaria. The report corroborated in large measure the previous assertion of General von Seeckt, commander of the German army, that the German Communists were deliberately preparing to overthrow the German Government by violent means. Loebe emphatically declared that the committee had evidence that the Communist Party had hidden away huge stores of explosives, arms, ammunition and even disease germs; the revolt, he charged, was to have started in Saxony. The reading of the report precipitated an uproar in the Reichstag.

Industrial conditions changed but little during the month. There were, however, several important labor adjustments; the strike of the Hamburg shipbuilding workers, which began three months ago, was settled; and the Hamburg, Bremen and Kiel Workmen's Unions agreed to the adoption of a nine-hour day until April 1, 1925, and to an increase in wages for skilled workers. The Becker Steel Works, manufacturers of high-grade finished steel and one of the largest industrial plants in Germany, went into the hands of receivers; scarcity of Reichsbank credit, rather than lack of business, was declared to be the cause. The Becker failure was considered symptomatic of the situation in Germany with respect to credit facilities. According to late estimates "real wages" averaged only 73¼ to 89⅞ per cent. of the pre-war figure. General satisfaction prevailed in official circles over the decision of the Government to raise the civil ser-



vice payroll to 80 per cent. of the pre-war salary rates; in the classes where wages were lowest the Government also granted supplemental pay to family heads which brought their pay to the level prevailing in 1913. The Government's action was prompted by the economic distress of the officials, which often forced them to earn money during leisure hours to the impairment of their efficiency in the State service. Prices, however, continue to decline. During the latter half of 1923 the membership of the Consumers' Cooperative of Berlin and its environs increased from 143,688 to 156,466.

The Government's report on emigration showed that 115,416 persons left Germany in 1923 as compared with 36,527 in 1922 and 35,843 in 1913. A large number of Germans went to Italy, where they turned their energies to industry and commerce; the industrial expansion in Italy since the war created an enormous demand for managers, foremen and artisans who were German or German trained.

In a plebiscite, taken May 18, Hanover rejected the plan for a referendum to determine whether it should remain a part of Prussia or become a separate province.

## AUSTRIA

THE recent American Immigration act caused widespread dismay in Austria, where general economic conditions were such as to greatly stimulate emigration; under the provisions of the law Austria's quota was reduced to but one-fifth of its former figure. The newspapers expressed the opinion that only those having near relatives in the United States were likely to be admitted; the *Neue Freie Presse*, indeed, frankly warned prospective emigrants not to give up their positions or dispose of their property without first definitely ascertaining their prospects; other journals inclined to the belief that South America would be the future destination of migrating Austrians.

Dr. Zimmerman, Commissioner General of the League of Nations, and the Government, continued to hold sharply divergent views with respect to the financial situation. In his fifteenth monthly report to the League of Nations' Council, the Commissioner General again criticized the Government's system of balancing the budget by tax revenue instead of by decreasing expenditures, which was the method the League had favored. The surplus of 37,000,000,000 crowns for the year 1923, instead of a deficit of 350,000,000,000 crowns, as anticipated by the League plan, was due entirely to increased revenue and not to administrative economies, Dr. Zimmerman maintained. In answer to the Commissioner General's criticism, the Government reappointed Dr. Hornik as Economy Commissioner. The budget for the current year, as finally voted by Parliament, showed a deficit of approximately \$15,714,000, in-



MONSEIGNEUR SEIPEL  
Chancellor of the Austrian Republic

stead of \$2,100,000, which was the League figure of the deficit; \$7,000,000 covered the increase in salaries of State employees.

Chancellor Seipel on June 1 was shot and seriously wounded by Karl Jaworek, a young Socialist. The Social Democratic Party disclaimed any responsibility for the attack, but unbiased observers recalled that the Socialists had for two years devoted their energies to convincing the uneducated masses that Dr. Zimmerman, Dr. Seipel and the present Government were responsible for all Austria's ills. At the moment of the attack the Social Democrats were holding a demonstration in which 1,000 school children marched through the streets shouting "Down with Seipel." Another possible factor was the Chancellor's dismissal of State employes, in accordance with the League plan for economy, which had made him unpopular even in his own party; the attack, it was indicated, would react to the Chancellor's advantage in drawing him closer to the public; widespread resentment of the outrage and increased popularity of the statesman himself were direct results. In anticipation of a long convalescence the Chancellor tendered his resignation which, however, the Government refused to accept.

The crime wave throughout Austria continued

unchecked, and reached such proportions that Chancellor Seipel officially denounced current publications devoting space to sensational stories. During the past month suicides were unusually numerous, no less than 105 being recorded in Vienna alone; these were mostly attributed to financial losses. Divorces also showed an increase; officials announced that no less than 250,000 persons obtained decrees in Austria since the revolution. The new divorce law, introduced during the Socialist régime, is now maintained only in the province of Vienna.

A demonstration of the Vienna Social Democratic organization was held on June 5 in connection with the meeting of the Executive of the International Trades Union Congress. Large numbers of workers, including postal, telegraph and railroad employes, paraded the streets for hours. Social Democratic newspapers reported growing exasperation on the part of the workmen because of the leniency said to have been shown to pan-Germans who had brutally assaulted several workers.

## Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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THE twenty-seventh Italian Parliament, the first to be chosen under the new election law, which insures office for five years, opened in Rome on May 24, the ninth anniversary of Italy's entrance into the World War. At Mussolini's wish, the old pomp and ceremony accompanying the opening of Parliament was revived. The Queen, with the Princess Mafalda and the Crown Prince, drove in state to the House of Parliament, and the King and the Duke of Aosta, with other high dignitaries, drove through the crowded streets from the Quirinal to the Piazza Colonna in a gilded coach drawn by six white horses adorned with white plumes. The Chamber, with its canopied throne, presented an imposing spectacle. The Deputies were all in full evening dress and Mussolini and his Ministers wore embroidered diplomatic uniforms which followed elaborate directions published in the official Gazette a month ago. The Socialists and Republicans, as has been for some years their custom at the opening of Parliament, absented themselves, to avoid the necessity of having to swear allegiance to the Crown. The King's address effectively disposed of the reports of divergence between the wishes of the sovereign and his Prime Minister. The King spoke in terms of the highest approbation of the achievements of the Government and particularly endorsed the national militia. His comments on liberty echo statements of Mussolini: "The Italian people wish liberty, true liberty to be left intact, but they have clearly shown that they repudiate every form of degeneration of liberty and every form of license." The King pointed to the need of energy and work in the future. He advocated ownership of land by agricultural workers, and close supervision of labor contracts in the interest of the worker. Respecting foreign policy he spoke in favor of

the treaty with Yugoslavia and the agreement with Russia, urged the prompt settlement of the reparations problem and the maintenance, in the interests of peace, of adequate military preparations. The speech, though it lacked Mussolini's striking use of language, was not markedly different in tone from Fascista campaign speeches.

The Presidency of the Chamber, a much discussed office, was given to the Fascista delegate, Alfredo Rocco, former Under Secretary of the Treasury and of Pensions. In an address to the delegates of his party immediately after Parliament convened, Mussolini made it clear that he expected, through the working majority, a new type of Parliamentary Government, which would remove the need of the old lobbying and scheming. "Italy is just beginning her very last Parliamentary experiment," he said. "If it succeeds, all right; if it fails, Parliament will be suppressed and its place taken by other vehicles of government."

The opening days of the Chamber were, however, enlivened by a series of incidents that it would have been hard to surpass in former Italian Parliaments. Socialist Deputy Matteotti attacked the legality of the recent elections and Fascista Deputy Giunta, former Secretary General of the party, answered with a violent attack on "that gang" of Socialists. There was a free-for-all fight, in which about a hundred Socialists and Fascisti engaged, after which the Opposition left the Chamber in a body and General Bencivenga challenged Giunta to a duel.

The subsequent disappearance of Matteotti led to accusations that he had been murdered at the instigation of certain members of Mussolini's Cabinet. Deputy Aldo Finzi, Under Secretary for Internal Affairs, and Cesare Rossi, head of the press bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs,



two of Mussolini's oldest and most trusted associates, having been mentioned in connection with the affair, resigned on June 14, thereby creating a great sensation.

After two stormy weeks Mussolini addressed the Chamber on June 7 and asked for a vote of confidence. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the two weeks that had passed. "Discussion has not followed the line which it should have taken," he said. "From this fact I will attempt to draw certain conclusions which will guide me in deciding whether or not we can continue to work together for our country." He defended the legality of the elections and denied the charge that personal liberty had been suppressed. In answer to the attacks on the Fascista militia he turned to the Opposition and declared: "We will not dissolve the militia. Get that firmly out of your heads." He was heard with attention throughout, in contrast to the other Fascista orators, who had been greeted with hisses and cries. The resolution of confidence in the Government of Premier Mussolini "for the work it has accomplished and its program for the future" was adopted by a vote of 361 to 107, the veteran Giolitti, who had sparred with Mussolini in the campaign, voting for the resolution and carrying with him a number of liberal votes.

The weeks leading up to the opening of Parliament were stormy ones, both in the Fascista party and in the nation generally. The Opposition press attacked the Government for the censorship applied on May 1 to three Milanese newspapers. It also protested against the continued use of the royal decree, a form of law in use during the years of war and continued during the recent years of parliamentary deadlock. The particular decree that provoked controversy was that issued on April 26, permitting the opening, in health resorts not near large cities, of the casinos and gaming houses which had been closed for the past eighteen months. The Opposition papers, particularly the Vatican organs, condemned the decree.

Within the Fascista party the contest, waged last Fall between Farinacci, the local chief of Cremona, and Massimo Rocca, Fascista Deputy-elect and journalist, was again revived and ended not in the discomfiture of Farinacci, as was the case before, but in the suppression of Rocca. Massimo Rocca, who was expelled from the Fascista party last September and reinstated later by Mussolini, went too far this time; in attacking the illegalities of his party and calling again for a reform very much along the lines that he had advocated last Fall, he also made charges against Minister of Finance De Stefani, whose work in balancing the budget had met with great success. The dissensions in the party reached such proportions that Mussolini was forced to cut short his journey in Sicily and return to Rome. There he took part in a conference of the directors of

Fascista party policy and gave his consent to the expulsion of Rocca from the party. With the expulsion went the demand—to which Rocca acceded—that he resign his seat as Deputy. Rocca's removal caused speculation as to whether Mussolini wished to identify himself with the extreme proposals which Farinacci urged in his Cremona newspaper as measures of national defence. The measures were: (1) Energetic Government supervision of the press; (2) severe penalties for any one intentionally divulging false news tending to disturb the public order; (3) removal from their home provinces of all those men whose presence would be a danger and their confinement in places where they would be innocuous; (4) State syndicalism by which the State intervenes in all labor contracts and takes steps to see that these contracts are observed by both parties; (5) institution of the death penalty for all those "who are alive today only through clemency of Fascism" and who "attempt to betray the nation by ambushing and murdering those who defend its cause."

It seemed unlikely that Mussolini felt sympathy with the opinions of the most violent of the so-called "Savages" in the Fascista Party. Hitherto he had cast in his lot rather with "Legalists" whom Rocca represents, and it was believed that he condemned Rocca chiefly because he regarded the attack on De Stefani as unwarranted.

The particular reason for the attack on De Stefani was the news that he was granting oil concessions to Harry F. Sinclair. Some months ago it was reported that the negotiations for such concessions had been interrupted because of the American oil scandal. Evidently relations were resumed. On Mussolini's return from Sicily the Government issued a statement showing how much money had been wasted by Italy in prospecting for oil and defending the granting to Americans who have technical experience in oil boring, of carefully safeguarded concessions in Italy.

In foreign affairs Mussolini continued his policy of securing friendship and paving the way for greater commercial activity. In Rome, on May 17, Foreign Minister Benès of Czechoslovakia and Mussolini, acting for their respective nations, drafted an agreement described as similar to the Yugoslav treaty, though less detailed in its application, since the contiguous boundaries of Italy and Yugoslavia lead to special questions that do not arise between Italy and Czechoslovakia. The fears aroused in Rome by the conclusion of the treaty between France and Czechoslovakia seem largely to have been allayed.

The long-debated question of the adjustment of the boundary between British Jubaland and Italian Somaliland has finally been settled.

Lord Curzon had insisted on associating the question of the boundary with the proposed cession of the Dodecanese to Greece, but Mussolini had constantly insisted that the two questions were unrelated and the British Labor Government finally accepted his point of view. The Milner-Scialoja line, proposed in 1919, has been accepted as the boundary. Thus the greatest difference between Italy and Great Britain has been amicably adjusted. Far from intending to give up the Dodecanese, Italy is now constructing an important naval base on Leros, one of the islands of the group.

M. Theunis, the Belgian Prime Minister, and M. Hyams, Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, met Mussolini in Milan on May 19 for a conference on reparations. Both parties favored the immediate application of the Dawes report, affirmed the close relationship between interallied debts and reparations and urged the necessity of holding a conference to settle the questions at issue.

The King and Queen of Italy during the month made visits of state to London and Madrid, returning the visits of the British and Spanish sovereigns to Italy.

The new American immigration law, which greatly diminishes the already small quota of Italians who can come to the United States, has produced added difficulties in Italy, where the disposal of surplus population is one of the most important national questions. Plans are being made to direct more emigration to South America and French North Africa. Italians are now emigrating in some numbers to France and

especially to the environs of Nice, where there is already a considerable Italian population. An international conference on immigration called by Italy, the most interested nation, met at Rome from May 15 to May 31. In line with Italy's present policy of keeping in touch with her emigrants, is the plan for young Crown Prince Humbert to visit South America this Summer. He will go to Brazil, the Argentine and Uruguay.

## THE VATICAN

On May 29, Ascension Day, the Pope proclaimed a Holy Year for 1925. The last "Anno Santo" was 1900, when unprecedented numbers of pilgrims visited Rome. It was expected that the numbers would be even larger next year. The institution of the Anno Santo goes back to 1300, when Boniface VIII. proclaimed the first one.

The Vatican has sent a delegate to the League of Nations to consider the question of the unification of the calendar and the stabilization of such dates as Easter. The Greek Orthodox Church will also be represented in the conference.

Archbishop Zepliak, head of the Catholic Church in Russia, who was recently released by the Soviet authorities, arrived in Rome on May 8 and was received with great honor by the Pope. Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, went to the railroad station to receive the Russian divine.

# *Eastern Europe and the Balkans*

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IT is an open secret that Italy viewed with apprehension the series of treaties by which France consolidated her friendship with Czechoslovakia and other Central and Eastern European States. France, it was felt, was getting too great a preponderance in middle Europe, and, in particular, too much control over the Little Entente. Mussolini's Government accordingly set about obtaining a counterbalancing series of understandings. It obtained a treaty with Yugoslavia, influenced an Italian bank to float a loan for Poland, and, while apparently rebuffing Rumania, actually opened negotiations looking to a settlement of the only outstanding

difficulty with that power, namely, the repayment of the Italian loan.

The latest achievement is a treaty of friendship with Czechoslovakia. President Masaryk and Foreign Minister Benès made another of their numerous international visits in May—this time to Italy; and while the Chief Executive sought recreation in Sicily, Dr. Benès speedily negotiated the treaty at Rome. The completed instrument was approved by the President at Taormina, Sicily, on May 19, but formal signature was planned to take place in Rome some weeks later, to be followed by parliamentary ratification in both countries.

The official text of the document was not given out, but no effort was made to withhold



the main contents. The treaty is very brief—only a preamble and four articles. After voicing the mutual interest which the two States have in the maintenance of peace and the re-establishment of settled conditions in Europe generally and Central Europe in particular, the instrument provides for the consideration of all issues in a spirit of friendship and mutual toleration, pledges the two States to the scrupulous observance of the peace treaties (St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly being especially named), pledges them similarly to use their good offices reciprocally to obtain a peaceful settlement of any question that may arise between either signatory and a third party, and finally stipulates that in the event of a question arising between one of the contracting parties and a third power which cannot be settled by peaceful negotiations, representatives of the two States shall meet to consider the advisability of taking concerted action and to decide what such concerted action shall be. Economic questions were discussed, but provisions concerning them were reserved for a separate and later treaty supplementing the existing commercial treaties.

On the return trip to Prague Dr. Benès visited Vienna, where he held conferences with the Government authorities regarding the reconstruction of Austria and the report thereon to be submitted to the League during the present month. He continues to expect to visit the United States this Summer, and has been invited to give a course of lectures on the problems and policies of Czechoslovakia during the session of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown in August. It has also been announced that President Masaryk will pay a state visit to Yugoslavia in the Autumn.

A memorial celebration, held at Bratislava May 4, in honor of General Stefanik (principal leader, along with President Masaryk and Dr. Benès, in the struggle of the Czechoslovak people for independence), became the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of Czechoslovak patriotism and solidarity. Dr. Benès was the principal speaker.

As shown by the last annual report of the country's largest financial institution, the Zivnostenska Banka, issued late in May, the year 1923 brought very substantial improvement in Czechoslovak business conditions; and the reduction of the bank rate from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 per cent. in May, made possible by the rise of the crown in the international market, indicated that the upward swing continues. It has been announced that the partition of landed estates is going on more rapidly this year than in 1923—that, indeed, more than 500,000 acres of agricultural land, belonging to some 350 estates, will be divided, at a cost to the State of 61,700,000 crowns.

An invitation has been extended by the Czechoslovak Government to American engineering so-

cieties not only to be represented at the Prague International Management Congress to be held July 21-24, but to make up a program to be carried out at that meeting. The invitation has been accepted and plans have been formulated by a committee of which Secretary Hoover is a member. The American delegation will tell Czechoslovakia of the principles and methods developed by the most progressive American industrial management, and particularly the methods of management and the problems of certain American industries which are basic national industries in Czechoslovakia.

## ALBANIA

A QUICK revolution in Albania ended successfully on June 10 when the insurgents entered the capital, Tirana, without fighting, the members of the Ahmed Zogu Government having fled. There was some desultory fighting prior to this, with about 200 casualties.

The uprising was led by Mgr. Theofan Noli, former Bishop of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America, and other liberals who opposed the attitude of the existing Government, which sought to uphold the medieval privileges accumulated during 400 years of Turkish rule. The conflict was brought to a head by the assassination, on April 6, of two American travelers, George B. de Long and Robert Lewis Coleman, and by the murder on April 20 of an Assemblyman, Avni Rustem, a member of the Opposition.

These episodes so discredited the Administration which had been shaped by Ahmed Zogu that a change was demanded. This being rejected, the Opposition by way of formal protest withdrew from the Assembly and finally drifted into open revolt. On June 6 the Government sought to stem the tide by a Cabinet change, but it was too late. The Yugoslavs and Greeks concentrated additional forces along the frontiers, but did not interfere. Italy on June 8 announced the signing of a treaty with Albania, and Mussolini declared that Italy had no unfriendly feeling toward Albanian independence, and coveted none of her territory. The United States sent two destroyers into Albanian waters, and the American Minister, Ulysses Grant Smith, was influential in effecting a peaceable settlement between the armed contestants.

## BULGARIA

THE Tsankoff Cabinet on May 11 announced a decision to dismiss all officials in the Government services who were known to be Communists and to suppress all newspapers showing communist tendencies. This action was taken as a result of the election of 150 Communists to the provincial councils, under the name of

Agrarians—a subterfuge made necessary by the fact that the Communist Party had been declared an illegal body. From Moscow had come an order instructing the Communists to join other parties in order to carry on the work of undermining the bourgeois Government.

According to official information, the result of the Provincial Council elections was as follows: Government Party, 352; Agrarian Communists, 150; Liberal (Radislavoff) Party, 19; Socialists, 16; Radical Democrat Coalition, 12; Liberal (Ghenadieff) Party, 4.

Strong agitation has been under way in Bulgaria for legislation that will transfer marriage and divorce from the jurisdiction of the Church to that of the State, as has been done in Rumania. There is at present no civil marriage in Bulgaria, and although after a divorce is granted the civil courts step in and regulate property questions, the granting or refusing of the decree is solely within the power of the ecclesiastical tribunal. It is argued that the laws of the Church have not developed to meet changing social conditions. Naturally, the Church itself opposes the innovation.

## HUNGARY

UNDER the direction of Commissioner General Jeremiah Smith of the League of Nations, the work of rehabilitation in Hungary has started auspiciously. In order to set an example in economy, Mr. Smith gave up the luxurious apartment assigned him in a first-class hotel and moved into an attic room; whereupon he began to insist upon a thorough reform of the whole national administration, including the dismissal of large numbers of State employes, with a view to the retrenchment which the country's condition so urgently requires.

The Commissioner General's main task is to control the carrying out of a program which is purely financial and to see that the money realized through the international loan which the plan calls for is used for the right purposes. It was announced that after June 1 no further uncovered notes would be printed and that the new bank of issue would begin to function on June 2. The bank was duly authorized by the General Assembly on May 24, with a Board of Directors presided over by Councilor Popovic, former President of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, and it was reported that half of the full subscription shares had already been paid up. The actual opening of the bank's doors was delayed some days on account of technical difficulties encountered in organizing the staff. With the authorization of Mr. Smith, the Ministry of Finance decided, in the middle of May, not to continue artificial support of the Hungarian crown.

Secretary Mellon announced, on May 29, that final steps had been taken in funding the debt of Hungary to the United States. Count Laszlo Széchenyi, Hungarian Minister at Washington, delivered to the Treasury, Hungarian Government bonds for \$1,939,000, receiving in exchange the original note given by his Government for relief supplies furnished during the period just after the armistice, and Secretary Mellon released certain Hungarian assets and revenues from the priority of a first lien by the United States, as provided by the American Debt Commission's plan.

Socialists and other radicals complain that Premier Bethlen's promises of amnesties and concessions, made in order to get the program of reconstruction backed by the League of Nations through the National Assembly on April 17, have been almost totally ignored. The rank and file of the Social Democratic Party feels that the twenty-four Socialist Deputies in the Assembly allowed themselves to be deceived by the Premier, and the more radical elements of the party have been almost in open revolt against the moderate leadership. The party congress held at Easter in Budapest brought out this sentiment strongly, and a later trade union convention had the same result.

## POLAND

AN interesting development of the gradual evolution of responsible Cabinet Government in Poland was the announcement of Premier Grabski that, as a result of attacks upon the President of the Republic, based upon that official's tactless public utterances, all Presidential speeches would be censored by the Ministers before their delivery, and that the President's private opinions would henceforth be expressed "only in the family circle and in Cabinet meetings."

Prior to the French parliamentary elections of May 11, various radical leaders who are now in positions of power, among them M. Painlevé, strongly condemned the Polish prison situation, as it involves the incarceration of native Communists, Russian agents, and Ukrainians and other nationalist agitators. A striking statement of protest signed by twenty-seven prominent liberals was printed in the *Paris Populaire* of May 2. The statement had a depressing effect on Polish public opinion. The first reply to this protest came in the form of an open letter which Stanislaw Thugutt, powerful leader of the Polish Radical Peasants' Party and unofficial leader of the parliamentary Opposition, addressed to M. Painlevé, in which M. Thugutt flatly denied the charges of oppression.

M. Tchitcherin, the Russian Soviet Premier, has complained to the Polish authorities that



Poland has violated Article VII. of the treaty of Riga providing for settlement of the question of minorities. In particular, he demanded better treatment of the Ukrainians and Ruthenians in Polish territory; to this, Poland replied, on May 27, that the complaint constitutes an unwarranted interference in Poland's internal affairs, and surprise was expressed that Poland should be accused of denying religious rights to minorities while Russia herself withholds both religious and other freedom from various nationalities. In a spirited rejoinder, Tchitcherin affirmed that minorities in Russia enjoy full freedom and that no religious persecution is permitted. The exchange, however, was not without its effect. Several measures looking to the extension of local autonomy to the Ruthenian minority in East Galicia have been introduced in the Polish Diet. It is expected that this question will be taken up in the Legislature after the more pressing phases of the financial reform program have been dealt with.

Immediately after the opening of the Bank of Poland the new unit of currency, the zloty [the equivalent of a gold franc], was substituted for the mark in all financial calculations, this marking the end of the era of fantastic finance in Poland. The economic crisis which was expected to develop in connection with the change to a sound money economy has proved much less grave than expected. No banks were obliged to suspend payments and those in difficulties were of relatively little importance.

Dr. Wladyslaw Wroblewski, Polish Minister to the United States, visited Warsaw in May; it was announced that he was authorized to begin negotiations immediately upon his return to his post for the refunding of the Polish debt to the United States.

## RUMANIA

THE Bessarabian question has continued to absorb much attention, although reports of the imminence of war between Rumania and Russia have been without foundation. It is commonly believed in Rumania that the Soviet Government aims at the eventual recovery of the lost territory, including control of one of the navigable mouths of the Danube; and the Rumanian Government has announced that next September will witness extensive army manoeuvres on Bessarabian soil, by which, it is understood Rumania aims to make an impression on the Moscow authorities. Poland, which has a defensive alliance with Rumania, proposes to carry out manoeuvres at the same time in Galicia near the Russian frontier; furthermore, negotiations were started early in May looking to a Polish-Rumanian-Turkish mutual defense

treaty, with Russia as the opponent definitely in mind. Great Britain, which is determined to oppose any Russian advance toward the Straits or control over the Danube outlets has been understood to be actively supporting this alliance. A steady stream of munitions is flowing from France to Rumania and Poland, with a view to fortifying these States against a possible Russian attack, and, in the case of Rumania, compensating the heavy losses of military supplies suffered from a series of explosions, on May 28, at the central ammunition depot at Cotroceni, just outside Bucharest.

In point of fact, it has been made reasonably clear that Russia contemplates no early move in the forbidden directions. The troops now in the south would be heavily outnumbered and are poorly equipped; the main Soviet military force is being turned rather toward Bokhara and other regions to the east; and in view of the many negotiations now proceeding for recognition in foreign countries, there is no desire to start hostilities. Nevertheless the next meeting of the Little Entente is expected to bring a general discussion of the Bessarabian situation and, quite possibly, some important decisions on a common policy toward Russia. It is even considered that on this issue Poland might be drawn into the alliance. A conference was held in Kamenez-Podolsk early in May between Russian and Rumanian delegates to settle definitely the problems arising from navigation of the Dniester and from repatriations. The Rumanian chief delegate, General Iovanovici, reported that very satisfactory progress had been made.

The King and Queen of Rumania concluded their round of state visits in Western Europe, with a brief sojourn in Great Britain, where they arrived on May 12; on these visits, which are viewed as politically significant, the King and Queen were accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who took advantage of the occasion to open negotiations looking to the settlement of a number of outstanding political and economic problems. Following the royal visit to Switzerland, it was officially announced that the difficulties with Switzerland, arising from the refunding of a loan of 40,000,000 francs obtained in 1921, which was to be repaid in wheat, were settled. A mixed commission will verify the accounts and the balance due will be refunded by Rumania within four years.

Much dissatisfaction continues with the virtual dictatorship of the Bratiano brothers—Premier Jean Bratiano and Finance Minister Vintilo Bratiano—mainly on the score of their failure to give Rumania honest and efficient government. The leader of the malcontents is General Averescu, scholar, former Premier, and the country's greatest war general; and on June 2 it was reported that he, at the head of 50,000 peasants,

was marching on Bucharest in order to make a gigantic protest before the King and Parliament against the continuance of the brothers in office.

## YUGOSLAVIA

**D**URING recent weeks the situation at Belgrade has been very confused, with little prospect of early clarification. King Alexander on May 16 invited M. Liouba Davidovitch, chief of the Opposition bloc, to form a non-partisan Government, pending a general election, but after two days of negotiations M. Davidovitch notified the King that he could construct a Ministry only with the support of M. Raditch, radical leader, now a fugitive in Vienna. The King rejected this proposal and assigned the task to former Premier Pashitch, who succeeded in making up a Cabinet; he and his colleagues took the oath of office on May 20. This is merely an emergency Administration to carry on the affairs of Government, and it probably will be dissolved in October. The elections are to be held in January, 1925.

Any unfavorable effect which the internal political crisis may have had on the country's economic situation has been offset by the stabilizing influence of the agreement with Italy on the Fiume question and other issues; as a result of this accord the exchange rates of the dinar [par value 19.3 cents; exchange rate June 11 1.19 cents] have been well maintained. Following a régime of rigid economy and enforcement of the fiscal system, Government receipts exceeded expenditures during the first four months of the year by 666,000,000 dinars. Consequently there is greater confidence than formerly in the country's ability both to balance its budget and to enter into a definite plan for funding its debt to the United States.

The plan for connecting Belgrade and Sarajevo with the Adriatic coast towns is again being revived after being held in abeyance for some time owing to the falling through of the Blair loan. Reports from Belgrade state that the British engineering firm of Armstrong-Whitworth, which has an agency in the Serbian capital, has offered a loan to the Yugoslav Government for the purpose of carrying out the scheme for the Adriatic railway.

## GREECE

**C**ONSIDERABLE progress has been made by Greece in the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the great Powers; during May diplomatic representatives were sent to Athens by the United States, France and Italy. Irwin B. Laughlin, the new American Minister to Greece, sailed for his post on May 3; M. de Marcilly, the new French Minister, presented his credentials on May 15, and two days later M. Branbilla, the new Italian Minister, arrived.



Keystone

### GENERAL CONDYLIS

One of the leaders of the Greek republicans. For his war services he received decorations from every allied country.

Encouraged by these evidences of confidence, Greece is proceeding in its plans for governmental organization; the draft of the new Greek Constitution, which was made public on May 18, authorizes the substitution of the republican for the monarchical form of government and provides for a Senate to be composed of one-half the number of members of the National Assembly.

The controversy over the Greek proposal to send the statue of Hermes to the United States came to an end on May 13, when M. Roussos, the Foreign Minister, announced that the Government would not permit the statue to be taken out of the country. Prominent Athenians, wishing to show their gratitude to the United States for the aid extended by Americans to needy refugees, had proposed to exhibit the statue in leading American cities. The Government's decision was understood to have been prompted by the fear of possible damage in transit to this greatest of Grecian masterpieces.

The former King of Greece, now an exile in Rumania, will take up permanent residence in Italy, official permission having been extended by the Italian Government.

At a meeting of the Imperial War Relief Fund held at the Mansion House, London, on May 8, Henry Morgenthau announced that the Bank of England had made a second loan of £1,000,000 to the Greek Refugee Relief Commission set up



by the League of Nations. He said that this sum would enable the commission to carry on its work until next Winter, when, it was hoped, a long-term loan of £6,000,000 or £8,000,000, which the League considers necessary, could be issued; he added, however, that

even this amount would not be adequate. The refugee situation continued to present grave problems; many of the refugees had not yet been assimilated into the industrial and commercial life of Greece and several hundred thousands were still dependent upon charity.

## Russia and the Baltic States

By ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH  
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THERE are many indications that the ruling party in Russia is gathering strength for a sweeping return to its early principles, which were set aside by the introduction of the new economic policy commonly called "Nep." The ranks of the party have been increased by the addition of a considerable number of new members, recruited entirely from the ranks of workmen and peasants. Angry outbursts against the "nepmen" (private traders), and against the ugly excrescence of "nepmanism," in general (in retail commerce the proportion of private traders was estimated around 65 per cent.), have taken place from time to time in public meetings and have found public expression in articles in the leading organs of the Bolshevik press. It was reported on June 7 that a considerable number of "nepmen," harassed by heavy taxes and other forms of governmental pressure, had voluntarily retired from business.

The number of students to be admitted to universities and higher technical schools in the academic year 1924-25 has been limited by the Government to 13,600, as against 37,000 of the previous year. Special rules were passed by the Government on March 24 and printed in the *Izvestia* of April 10 for the purpose of limiting the students to "persons belonging to the proletariat and laboring peasantry." All graduates of the so-called "rabfaki" (schools for workmen), forming an integral part of all universities, will be accepted automatically; others will have to pass examinations in Russian, mathematics, physics and social science. Admission to the "rabfaki" is naturally limited to workers and peasants. The necessarily low requirements for entrance to these schools may be understood from a perusal of Section 1 of the rules published in the *Izvestia*. They consist of: " \* \* \* the knowledge of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division of whole numbers, ability to express one's thoughts satisfactorily both in writing and orally, and sufficient training in general politics. \* \* \*" It was reported more recently (May 17) by The Associated Press that

nearly 100,000 students of non-proletarian origin will be eliminated from the universities under a new decree published by the Government. From Riga (May 24), it was further stated that 8,000 students had been expelled from the Leningrad (Petrograd) University and other higher educational establishments of the former capital and had organized a demonstration before Zinoviev's residence. Special detachments of the OGPU [political police] arrested 900 of the demonstrators. Moved by the distress of the expelled students, the Government passed a new decree on May 25 permitting them to take examinations at technical trade schools in order to qualify as technical assistants.

All these measures could be easily misunderstood and attributed to no other cause than the desire to return to communism. This is true in great measure, but other potent factors should not be overlooked, not the least among them being the financial difficulties confronting the Government. Kamenev, in a speech reported in the *Berlin Tageblatt*, though not published in the Bolshevik press, stated that the budget for next year shows a deficit of 400,000,000 gold rubles. An article published by M. Lunacharsky, Commissar for Education, in the *Izvestia* of April 13, states:

Practically everything recently achieved and representing some progress has been wiped out. The central budget, already reduced, as compared with that of the preceding year, is now systematically being reduced in all parts, including the items for wages. \* \* \* The earnings of the employes of the Narkompros (People's Commissariat of Education), including the highly qualified professors, are lower than those of all other professional unions, notwithstanding the fact that in regard to qualifications, i. e., the average level of training, the Narkompros occupies the first place.

Nor does the status of the railroads appear to be much better than that of the educational institutions. An article published in the *Moscow Economic Life* (April 3) points out that "the number of employes and workmen is disproportionately large as compared with the actual mile-

age of train service," that, "according to preliminary calculations there is a deficit of some 36,000,000 rubles," and that the railroads will require financial help and a great deal of time for recuperation.

Dissensions in the Communist Party, which broke out shortly before Lenin's death and which were patched up as a means of self-protection, broke out again at the meeting of the Communist Congress. Trotsky was publicly upbraided by Zinoviev and asked to make a frank declaration whether he intended to continue opposing the will of the majority or whether he was ready to submit to the discipline of the party. In his reply Trotsky said:

"No one of us desires to be against the party. The party is always correct in its general aims. \* \* \* I understand my duty at the present moment as a disciplined member of the party, and I am ready, as every other member is, to admit these and other mistakes." \* \* \* The services rendered by Trotsky in the past are naturally appreciated by everybody, but party discipline is above individual achievement and is the only and true reason why the Communists have retained power through all the vicissitudes of the past and present times.

The high ideal of party principles and party discipline is also, generally speaking, responsible for the wide discrepancy between the crime and the punishment often meted out in Soviet courts. Foreign observers frequently have been struck by the leniency shown common criminals, such as murderers, and by the severe penalties imposed upon other persons, who in Western Europe or America would have escaped with light sentences. Thus, quite recently, a woman, with the aid of her brother-in-law, killed her husband, cut the body to pieces and buried them in a bog. The murderers were sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but the woman was subsequently freed because she had three children. At the same time an engineer named Jacobson was sentenced to death because he furnished secret information regarding some mines to their former owners, while Tchardynzev and Kalinin, directors of the largest Government textile trust, were also sentenced to death on charges of corruption and of plotting with others to combat State ownership in favor of private enterprise. The Kiev professors whose trial on charges of counter-revolution was mentioned in the June issue of this magazine publicly repudiated Poincaré's "interference" in Russian internal affairs by his protest to the Soviet Government in their favor, and the highest court thought it advisable to commute the defendants' death sentences to ten years' imprisonment but commutation of the death sentence was denied to Miss Beitner on the ground that she had been for fourteen years a spy in the secret service under the Czar's régime.

Notwithstanding statements to the contrary and declarations of officials that Russia is ready to participate in international discussion of disarmament, the Russian Army is being steadily improved. A year ago Trotsky pleaded for the development of a strong air fleet. Lately he engaged in efforts to develop a chemical branch of the army, and in order to secure greater support for his plans he delivered a series of public speeches in which he painted in vivid colors the dangers of an attack from the air with chemicals as weapons of destruction, and referred to the rapid strides made in this direction by the fabulously rich and capitalistic United States in anticipation of an attack on poverty-stricken Europe. According to data collected by General de Lacroix of the French Army, the Red Army has at present 600,000 men under arms and is divided into seventeen corps and fifty-two divisions. The maintenance of this army consumes half of the entire State budget, but in point of instruction, equipment and command it has been and still is inferior to other European armies.

The news of an armed revolt in Turkestan, now admitted by the Bolshevik press, is not sufficiently definite to permit of any conjecture. Foreign correspondents report that the total forces of the insurgents, led by General Sytcheff, exceed 60,000 and are well armed, equipped and disciplined. But the discipline of the main Russian Red Army is beyond doubt perfect and the army and its General Staff are to all appearances loyal to the Government. Only disloyalty of the main body of the Red Army could endanger and decide the fate of the present Government.

On recommendation of Kalinin, President of the Union of Soviet Republics, himself of peasant origin, the Communist Party Congress passed a resolution forbidding all anti-religious propaganda among the peasantry. The Government has realized for some time that its future depends not upon the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor upon the industrial workers alone, but on the support of the peasantry and their "junction" with the workers. The intellectuals have been crushed. The old bourgeoisie—the manufacturers, the tradesmen—have been ruined. But the peasants could not be crushed and the redistribution of land, if anything, has rather enriched than impoverished them. Instead of helping the Communist cause, anti-religious propaganda has created an animus against it. So now it is abolished. The method of taxation was another cause for discontent on the part of the peasants. The Government had long been aware of this, but had not known how to meet the difficulty. It has now decided upon a single tax for all landholders, but with a sliding scale and an elaborate system of categories. From now on, payment will be entirely in cash. (It was at



first in kind and later partly in kind and partly in cash.) There are three categories of land acreage, nine categories of harvest and twenty-five categories of localities. Special charts have been prepared for each locality for the computation of the tax. The principle of taxation has been worked out with great care and in great detail, and Soviet officials expect much from the new law and look upon it as a real achievement.

The controversies within the Russian Church become more and more confusing. The Church group hostile to ex-Patriarch Tikhon has obtained from the Ecumenical Patriarch, Gregory VII. of Constantinople, approval of the deposition of Tikhon from the office of Patriarch of Russia. Meanwhile Tikhon is reported as having espoused the cause of the Living Church, i.e., the one encouraged by the Government, and as organizing a High Church Council together with Krasnitsky, High Presbyter of the Living Church. Archbishop Nikolai, head of the Mission sent by the Holy Synod to the United States and who arrived in Riga on May 19, has published a denunciation of the Holy Synod, which he accuses of cooperation with the OGPU (Political Police), and has declared himself a supporter of Patriarch Tikhon.

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Republics and the Councils of People's Commissars published in the *Izvestia* on April 20 the detailed description of the new flag of the Union of Soviet Republics. The flag is red and rectangular in shape, being twice as long as it is wide. In the upper left corner, covering one-sixth of the flag, are a golden sickle and mallet. Above these symbols is a five-pointed red star with a golden edge, its diameter covering one-twentieth of the width.

Thirty-two samples of the finest marble from the Lake Onega district were brought to Moscow on June 9 for examination by the special commission to decide upon the design for a permanent mausoleum for the remains of Lenin in the Red Square.

The Moscow-Tashkent Express was wrecked near Rasan on June 8 by bandits, who had removed the rails. Thirteen persons were killed, forty injured and five Communist officials shot.

## THE BALTIC STATES

IN response to a collective protest by Italy, France and Poland against the confiscation by Latvia of land belonging to their nationals, the Foreign Minister of Latvia replied that compensation would be paid to such persons. The three Governments subsequently submitted to the Foreign Minister a proposal to draft a compensation scheme. The Latvian press regards the

question of compensation as a purely internal affair of Latvia's.

A robbery of interest to Americans has been discovered in Riga. For several years an official of the Latvian Post Office has been rifling of their contents money letters sent from America to residents of Latvia. Nearly 5,000 letters have thus never reached their destination. The official has been arrested and will be brought to trial.

Latvian imports during the month of February, 1924, amounted to 38,577,880 kilograms, valued at 16,874,259 lats, while the exports amounted to 27,817,770 kilograms, valued at 7,713,907 lats. The United States' proportion of this trade, estimated in lats (the par value of a lat is \$0.193; exchange value June 12 approximately at par), was as follows:

	Kilograms.	Lats.
Imports from America.....	1,425,360	414,764
Exports to America.....	54,796	190,861
The chief articles of import to Latvia were:		
Raw materials and partially		
manufactured goods .....	14,666,302	2,762,384
Textiles .....	244,500	2,360,410
Machinery and implements..	481,376	766,345
Chemicals .....	3,077,905	1,111,933
Rye, wheat and flour.....	9,119,079	2,149,942
Sugar .....	1,740,344	1,026,987
The chief articles exported:		
Flax .....	1,818,447	2,466,645
Lumber .....	20,506,146	1,676,839
Hides, pelts and skins.....	138,834	61,479
Manufactured goods .....	311,323	981,784
Foodstuffs, liquors and tobacco .....	1,210,246	678,054

Statistics show that 35,739,363 kilograms of goods were transported through Latvia to other countries during February, 1924. Of this quantity 805,133 kilograms were transported to Soviet Russia and 26,539,795 kilograms from Soviet Russia.

Andrew Niedra, who was chosen by the German occupational authorities to head the Latvian Government in the event that they succeeded in removing the legal temporary Government of Latvia in 1919, upon his return to Latvia in May of this year was arrested by the Latvian authorities. Niedra is charged with high treason.

The Minister of the Interior, K. Birznicks, resigned on May 9. Temporarily his duties were taken over by the Assistant Minister, Mr. Dzenis.

A Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian conference was held at Kovno from May 19 to May 22, in which the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of these countries participated. The program of the conference included the adjustment of policies and a settlement of many important economic questions. Another conference, composed of the representatives of the railroads of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Germany, took place from April 30 to May 2 in Riga. The conference passed a resolution concerning the transportation of goods and the compensation to be exacted for the use of loaned cars.

# Other Nations of Europe

By RICHARD HEATH DABNEY  
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## SPAIN

ACCORDING to an article in *L'Europe Nouvelle* by Gabriel Alomar, former Deputy to the Spanish Parliament, the Government of Primo de Rivera is not really a new thing, but the natural end of an evolution which re-established the old régime in the true meaning of the term. "The monarchy," says Alomar, "has returned to its dynastic tradition, annulling all the liberative work of the nineteenth century. The Generals who directed the terrible repression of Barcelona have been put at the head of the Ministry of the Interior and of the National Police. The Constitution which the King had sworn before the Cortes to observe has been actually abolished." The interdiction of the Catalan language and literature is seen by Alomar as "puerile persecution." Another writer in *L'Europe Nouvelle*, called "one of the most eminent political personages in Spain," says that Spain is "infected with militarism" and is ruining herself for the sake of a worthless army which costs more in proportion to the resources of the country than the army of any other European country, an army which, with 20,000 officers and a general staff sufficiently numerous to command the hosts of a Kaiser Wilhelm II., is yet incapable of defending Spain or of putting down the Riffs of Morocco.

The Spanish forces on May 7 lost 500 men in the attack by which they drove off the Moorish besiegers of Sidi Messaud. Fifty-six Spanish airplanes on May 31 made bombing flights over enemy positions in Morocco and got back uninjured. If Rivera has any definite program for winding up the Moroccan business he keeps it "to himself and the eight Generals who form the Directorate," said T. Walter Williams, the Madrid correspondent of *The New York Times*. According to Mr. Williams there were, at last accounts, about 60,000 Spanish troops at Nadir, sixty miles from Melilla. At Tissiassa, on the Riff frontier, there were 400 blockhouses, each guarded by 250 soldiers. The delivery of a litre of fresh water to the soldiers in the blockhouses every four days required an escort of 4,000 troops.

The King, the Queen and the Prince of Asturias recently returned from a visit to their new Palace of Pedralbes, a gift of their Catalan subjects, incident to which event the Madrid correspondent of a London paper said that the outlook for a settlement of the Catalan troubles was brighter than it had been in many

years. Professor Masso Llorens, Deputy for Barcelona, sent an appeal to the League of Nations to intervene between the Catalans and the Spanish Government, and forty-eight Castilian scholars and writers transmitted a strong plea to Rivera on behalf of their Catalan brothers.

Count Romanones and Señor Alvarez were recently refused permission by the Government to give public addresses to their political followers.

The need of industrial equipment for converting raw materials into manufactures was stressed at a recent trade gathering in Spain, while the development of agriculture and mining was also referred to as desirable.

A new type of small coins has been approved by the Spanish Government. The coins will be of an alloy of copper and nickel, square with rounded corners, for small change.

## PORTUGAL

THE deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30 is now put at £89,000,000, covered by Treasury bills and other short-term debt created by the Bank of Portugal.

The Lisbon police, on May 12, arrested a Communist in whose room they found a large supply of bombs and explosives. Two bombs were exploded the same day at Coimbra. On May 15 Communists wounded E. Pires, who is both politically and financially prominent.

A native cook at Ressano Garcia, Portuguese East Africa, was lynched on May 11 for stabbing and mortally wounding Señor Loreira, Chief of Portuguese customs there.

Lieutenants Paes and Beiros, Portuguese aviators, attempting a flight from Lisbon to Macao, China, reached Allahabad, India, on May 31.

## SWITZERLAND

SWISS  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. bonds, which broke about three points on May 28, held steady on May 30 and closed at  $94\frac{7}{8}$ . The British Commercial Attaché at Berne states that Swiss investments abroad before the war amounted to about 8,000,000,000 francs. It was believed that the loss sustained by Swiss investors on account of depreciated currencies amounted to 5,000,000,000 francs, and that a capital of 4,000,000,000 invested in such countries as Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia had entirely disappeared. A further sum of 1,000,000,000 or more had been wiped out by the depreciation of French, Italian and other rates



of exchange. At a recent meeting of the Swiss Children's Aid Committee at Olten, however, it was reported that during the preceding year 8,250 German children had been received as vacation guests in Switzerland and that support had been given to 472 German relief institutions.

The Swiss Minister in Berlin has requested the German Government to withdraw its prohibition of foreign travel for Germany, on account of the damage done to Switzerland by this prohibition.

## HOLLAND

IT will be recalled that former Duke Adolf of Mecklenburg tried last Winter to induce the Dutch Government to turn over about 200,000 square kilometers of Dutch New Guinea to a German colonization company for seventy-five years, in return for 10 per cent. of the net profits. Under this medieval scheme the natives were to be handed over to the former Duke and other erstwhile German nobles, and governed without interference by the Dutch authorities. The Clerical Kölnische Volkszeitung announced that the German Government itself was ready to participate, hoping to find billets for retired army officers now on its pension list. German radicals, however, declared it scandalous that the Government of a republic should even consider such a plan; and, as the Dutch press also denounced it, it now seems reasonably certain that Duke Adolf will have to look elsewhere for a feudal duchy.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the First Peace Conference was celebrated at The Hague on May 17 by a gathering in the Hall of Knights of many high officials, including the Diplomatic Corps.

Finance Minister Colyn, on May 3, announced a deficit for this year of 40,000,000 florins (about \$13,000,000) and also extraordinary expenditures of from 125,000,000 to 150,000,000 florins. He proposed a new loan of from 300,000,000 to 350,000,000 florins to cover the entire floating debt.

## DENMARK.

THE Danish Socialist Prime Minister issued a statement voicing the new Cabinet's loyalty to the Crown and announcing the appointment of Count Moltke Hvitfeldt as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The King and Queen of Denmark, on May 25, entertained at the Summer Palace 150 delegates attending the meeting of the executives of the International Council of Women under the Presidency of Lady Aberdeen.

Prince Viggo Christian Adolph Georg, first cousin of the King, married Miss Eleanor Margaret Green, an American commoner, at New York on June 10. Miss Green, who is a member of a distinguished New York family, thus becomes related to several of Europe's royal families. On the same day Prince Valdemar, father

of the bridegroom and brother of Dowager Queen Alexandra of England, received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from New York University.

## NORWAY

IT was officially announced by the United States State Department on May 24 that a treaty, similar to the treaties with Great Britain, Germany and Sweden, had been signed with Norway to prevent the illegal importation of intoxicating liquors.

The Norwegian Labor Party refused the invitation of the Communist Party to cooperate with it at the October elections. According to the Communist press, the Red Trade Union International in Moscow had granted 5,000 gold rubles to the Norwegian strikers and had urged the Norwegian Communists by telegram to extend the strike to municipal and State workers on the railroads and tramways. Aftenposten, in a leading article, strongly protested against Russian interference. The strike of 60,000 transport workers in Norwegian ports ended with the acceptance of the proposal of the public mediator. Work was resumed late in May under pre-strike conditions, but negotiations for a new scale of wages in all trades were to be begun immediately.

The Government has appointed seven delegates to arrange a commercial treaty with Soviet Russia. The Finance Committee of the Storting has recommended that foreign shareholders in Norwegian companies be exempted from the property tax. The Storting on May 8 acceded to the wish of King Haakon that the 50,000 kroner entered as the Crown Prince's public allowance should be omitted from the budget estimates.

Norwegians have maintained a number of children's Summer homes in Germany and have also brought German children to Norway for long stays. Preparations are well advanced for the conference of the International Federation of University Women at Christiania this Summer; about 200 American women are expected to attend. Nils Vogt, son of the Norwegian Minister to Great Britain, was killed on June 1 when he dropped with a parachute from a seaplane near Christiania.

## SWEDEN

THE Government Army and Navy bill, though passed by the First Chamber, was rejected by the Second Chamber in favor of an amendment proposed by the Social Democrats reducing the Government's estimate of 85,000,000 crowns for the army to 52,000,000 and its estimate of 40,000,000 for the navy to 24,000,000. Despite this defeat, Prime Minister Trygger announced that the Government would remain in office; mean-

while efforts were initiated to effect a compromise between the two measures.

Sweden's gold exports, following the resumption of specie payments by the Riksbank on April 1, amounted to \$6,214,000 between March 29 and May 10, leaving the gold reserve of the bank at about \$66,350,000. A one-year credit of \$25,000,000 for the Kingdom of Sweden has been arranged with the National City Bank of New York. This fund is to be drawn upon by Sweden for the purpose of stabilizing the krona, in case any serious fluctuations should arise.

During April Sweden's imports exceeded her exports by about \$17,420,000, owing to heavy imports from America, especially of automobiles and mineral oils. Her exports to America, however, chiefly in wood pulp, iron and steel and paper, were larger by \$700,000 than in March.

The commercial treaty between Sweden and Russia, in which the Soviet Government was accorded *de jure* recognition, was ratified by the Swedish Riksdag on May 1. Most-favored-nation treatment was granted to both sides. The old Swedish Embassy in Leningrad has been surrendered to Sweden practically intact, and, by the new postal agreement, Russia has settled old Swedish claims amounting to 900,000 gold francs. A new steamship line, authorized by the Swedish Government, will be established between Gothenburg and Leningrad early in the Summer; a further evidence of cordial relations is the founding of a Swedish-Russian Society to promote the cultural exchange between the two countries.

Contracts for iron ore to be delivered in the Ruhr were placed in Sweden before the end of March for about 75 per cent. of the normal yearly demand. The Ruhr normally absorbs about two-thirds of the entire Swedish production of iron ore. Sweden's total sales to all markets amounts to about 5,000,000 tons a year.

Sweden was gratified by the Dawes committee's recommendation of the Swedish tobacco monopoly as a model for Germany's adoption. The Swedish State holds 63 per cent. of the stock of the corporation, which deals in tobacco and which realized a net profit of \$4,127,000 last year on a total revenue of \$16,980,000. The State has re-

ceived from the monopoly since 1915 a revenue of \$108,740,000.

Sweden's system of liquor control is by supervision of a concern which has a monopoly of the manufacture and sale. This system has greatly reduced the consumption of liquor; bootlegging, however, continues and the Swedish Government's Finance Department has drafted a measure providing drastic penalties for violation of the liquor laws.

The American Chamber of Commerce at Gothenburg, the first institution of its kind in Scandinavia, has been organized on the initiative of Walter Sholes, the United States Consul. The new organization will promote foreign trade between the two countries; last year the total shipments in both directions totaled \$100,000,000. Early in May the Göta Works launched the 3,000-ton motorship City of San Francisco, built for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company; the firm then began construction of another motorship of similar type for the same company. Important arsenic ore deposits, the first discovered in Sweden, have been found in the Province of Vaesterbotten, through a method of electrical prospecting devised by Karl Sundberg, a Swedish engineer.

## FINLAND

PARLIAMENT met on May 3, and Prime Minister Cajander resigned with his Cabinet; on June 1 a new Ministry was formed with Professor Lauri Ingman holding the dual office of Premier and Minister of Education. To make up his Cabinet Prime Minister Ingman drew on all four of Finland's bourgeois political groups—the National Coalition Party, Swedish People's Party, the National Progressive Party and the Farmers' League. The new Ministry was composed as follows:

M. PULKINEN—Finance.  
M. PROCOPE—Foreign Affairs.  
M. HELLENS—Justice.  
M. LAHDENSUO—Agriculture.  
M. AUER—Assistant Minister of Agriculture.  
M. KUKKONEN—Assistant Minister of Education.  
LIEUT. COL. MALMBERG—Defense.  
M. LIAKKA—Social Affairs.  
M. PALMGREN—Commerce.  
M. HAHN—Communications.





# Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER  
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THE Grand National Assembly adjourned for six months on April 22. The Assembly showed itself throughout its session strongly conscious of its position as the sole repository of the sovereignty of Turkey. Though Mustapha Kemal Pasha was awarded the high offices of President of the Assembly and President of the republic, not even his great prestige and influence could induce the Assembly to abandon its supreme control. Shattering all Islamic precedents, it proceeded far in the direction of separating Church and State. It ratified the Lausanne Treaty of peace and made Ismet Pasha, after his triumphant return, its chief Minister. It abolished the office of Caliph, which had been held by Turks for 400 years, and expelled from the country the house of Osman, which had been at the head of affairs for 600 years. It formulated a Constitution which embodied its theory of concentrated single-chamber government. The country has settled into comparative quiet since the Assembly rose. Extraordinary efforts are being made by the agricultural population to produce extensive crops this year, in order to repair to some extent the losses of a dozen years of war. The Smyrna region is recovering with wholly unexpected rapidity.

Since the Assembly, which is strongly nationalistic, declined to recognize the ownership by any foreign company of the Bagdad Railway and proposed to purchase the rights of the former company, a new contract for the operation of the railway became necessary. Late in May the Chairman, Henry Woodhouse, and the Directors of the Ottoman-American Development Company submitted to Secretary of Commerce Hoover and announced to the public a plan for American operation of the Bagdad Railway from Constantinople to Adana. Though this company was unable to attract a sufficient amount of American capital to realize upon the vast "Chester Concessions," it now hopes to carry through the Bagdad Railway project, which is of much lesser scope. No great amount of capital would be necessary, and the supplying of railway material and equipment would provide a business of several million dollars annually. In order to secure a clear title to the railway, the Ottoman Government would be obliged to repurchase a quantity of bonds, or rather preferred stock. Americans interested in the new project could either guarantee the interest on these bonds or purchase them outright from the Turkish Government.

Ferid Bey, Minister of the Interior, resigned in

consequence of criticisms of his recent policies. The Turkish Government has proceeded further in the confiscation of revenues devoted under the old arrangements to the service of pre-war debts. In reply to an inquiry from the Council of the Public Debt Administration, a practical repudiation of the Decree of Muharren was made, on the ground that this instrument was not confirmed at Lausanne. This decree, issued in 1881, with subsequent supplementary arrangements, assigned certain revenues to meet the interest and sinking fund of the Ottoman debt. The total amount involved exceeds \$500,000,000.

Negotiations between representatives of the British and Turkish Governments with regard to the frontiers near Mosul began May 1 at Constantinople. Progress was slow because of the wide divergence between the desires of the two Governments. The Turks demanded a large transfer of territory, including Mosul and much of Kurdistan. They appeared to be willing to compromise in regard to oil concessions, provided they could retain territorial sovereignty. The British, however, stood firm for the retention of substantially all the territory now under the jurisdiction of the Government of Iraq. The chief British delegate is Sir Percy Cox and the chief Turkish delegate is Fethi Bey, who has lately been serving as President of the Grand National Assembly. Sir Henry Dobbs, British High Commissioner to King Faisal, stated that the British Government would not surrender any of Iraq's just claims as regards Mosul, and if the Turks should refuse to recognize these claims, it would refer them to the League of Nations, in accordance with Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne.

Considerable opposition to ratification of the Lausanne Treaty has developed in France. French interests have been affected by the Turkish nationalistic policies. The clerical party was seriously displeased by the closing of French schools. The protest by the Turkish Government, furthermore, against the non-execution of certain clauses of the Angora Pact of 1920, looking toward a special régime in the region of Antioch and Alexandretta, where the population contains a considerable proportion of Turks, was interpreted by the French as a demand on the part of Kemal Pasha for the Alexandretta region.

A Turkish commercial commission recently made recommendations which might lead to further impairment of French interests. With a

view to improving the facilities of the port of Constantinople, it was urged that buildings and warehouses along the quays on each side of the mouth of the Golden Horn be appropriated for transit commerce; that the present private monopoly of the quays be suppressed, and that their use be made free (a French company built the quays, and on this account has been permitted to collect tolls); that the administration of the port be improved immediately; and that a new port authority be established with power to control tariffs, cost of transport and regulation of loans.

The Bank of National Credit of Turkey has obtained the right to work the famous Arganeh copper mines near Diarbekr. A company is being organized in Berlin, with a capital of 3,000,000 Turkish pounds, one-half of which is to be provided by the Turks. Five per cent. of the net profits is to be put into reserve, and of the remainder five-eighths will go to the Turkish Government and three-eighths to the company. It is expected that the Government will have for its share about \$1,250,000 annually. The Turks themselves plan to build a spur from the Bagdad Railway through Diarbekr to Arganeh. They hope to finish it in two years.

The American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant celebrated its thirteenth anniversary on May 1. Addresses were made by its President, R. E. Bergeron, Admiral Bristol and Consul General Randal. Admiral Bristol described his recent trip to Angora and across Asia Minor to Mersina. He was impressed with the spirit of energetic effort at Angora, and the activity and punctuality along the railway.

## EGYPT

**ZAGHLUL PASHA**, the Prime Minister, took a long vacation in the country during April, and after his return was slow in attending to Government business. Parliament reassembled May 10, after a recess during the Bairam holidays, and presented a large group of questions to the Government. One of these asked the Prime Minister why there were still British troops in Egypt and whether the Egyptian delegation which is soon to go to London would agree to negotiate only for the complete independence of Egypt. Zaghlul replied with a vigorous speech. He stated in regard to the Declaration to Egypt of Feb. 28, 1922: "I rejected it when I was leader of the Wafd (the independence movement), and I reject it again now that I am leader of the Egyptian Government." He stated that he would accept no agreements concluded by preceding Ministers and that the only kind of settlement with Great Britain which he would recommend to the Egyptian Parliament would be complete independence for Egypt and the Sudan.

The text of the declaration of Feb. 28, 1922, is as follows:

WHEREAS his Majesty's Government, in accordance with their declared intentions, desire forthwith to recognize Egypt as an independent sovereign State; and,

WHEREAS the relations between his Majesty's Government and Egypt are of vital interest to the British Empire.

The following principles are hereby declared:

1. The British Protectorate over Egypt is terminated, and Egypt is declared to be an independent sovereign State.

2. So soon as the Government of his Highness shall pass an act of indemnity with application to all inhabitants of Egypt, mar-



C. H. Photo

Egyptian native police on guard at the tomb of Tutenkhamon



tial law as proclaimed on Nov. 2, 1914, shall be withdrawn.

3. The following matters are absolutely reserved to the discretion of his Majesty's Government until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto between his Majesty's Government and the Government of Egypt: (a) The security of the communication of the British Empire in Egypt; (b) the defense of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect; (c) the protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities; (d) the Sudan. Pending the conclusion of such agreements, the status quo in all these matters shall remain intact.

The budget, which was submitted to Parliament on April 26, provides for revenue and expenditure of about \$170,000,000. The Minister of Finance recommended that the treasury surplus of \$87,000,000 be held intact, although it had been suggested that a portion of it be used for land reclamation projects. He recommended that certain taxes, such as the tax on cotton, might well be abandoned. He expressed the hope that after 1930 the Egyptian Government might be free to increase import duties, which now stand at the uniform level of 8 per cent. ad valorem.

A native Egyptian, Abdul Hamid Soliman Pasha, was made general manager of the Egyptian State Railways, following the resignations in rapid succession of the Englishmen, Brig. Gen. Blakeney and Mr. Verschoyle. The new general manager is a trained engineer, who has filled very successfully the position of Minister of Public Works.

During recent months Egyptian labor groups have shown considerable unrest. Attempts were made to seize factories in Alexandria, where strikes have been frequent, as well as in Cairo and elsewhere. Egyptian labor is said to lack capable organizing leaders, and to be more active where purely political questions are involved than in its own individual interests.

## PALESTINE

AN international Christian conference was held on the Mount of Olives during the first week of April. It was called by the International Missionary Council. The Chairman was Dr. John R. Mott, and the eighty delegates were from countries extending from Morocco to North India. The aim was to get a true view of the state of mind of peoples in the areas mentioned and to shape afresh in the light of that knowledge the attitude of Christians toward the peoples of the Near East. The situation was described as follows:

The shattering impact of the war itself, the rise of clamant nationalisms and race movements cutting across Pan-Islamic policy, the Bolshevik ferment, the Caliphate agitation, the increased government of Islamic peoples by European powers, the critical debate on the civilization of Christendom, the eastward spread of European skepticism, the rebellion against traditionalism

and external authority, the hunger for knowledge of new scientific thought and invention, the canvassing of the status of Oriental womanhood, the growing spirit of fraternity in and with the Oriental churches and some strong reactionary movements, are all factors in producing a profound and widespread change that can be described soberly and with precision as epoch-making.

The principal resolutions look toward a fuller development of cooperation and comity in all forms of work in order to avoid overlapping and to secure higher educational, medical and other forms of efficiency. It was recommended to establish a central literature bureau to help co-ordinate the work of the existing Christian presses and their editorial staffs. The Greek Patriarch showed whole-hearted interest by personal and official visits to the conference, giving promise of constructive cooperation, much to be desired, between the Western forces and the ancient Oriental churches.

The Palestine Immigration and Travel Department has begun to publish figures which indicate that under present conditions Palestine has approached the "saturation point." For the two months ended March 31 there were 836 immigrants (including 76 non-Jews) and 716 emigrants (including 105 non-Jews).

Steps are being taken to prepare and introduce a Palestinian currency which shall be separate from that of other countries. The present connection between the English and Egyptian monetary systems is obnoxious to the nationalistic feeling of all groups in Palestine. New Palestinian postage stamps are also in process of preparation.

Plans are nearing completion for utilizing the water power of the Jordan River to supply light, heat and power in Palestine. The project was originated by Pincus Rutenberg. A Palestine electric corporation has been formed, financed by the Palestine Development Council of New York, Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris, the Jewish Colonial Trust of London and the London Economic Board for Palestine. It is said that the American participation amounts to more than \$500,000.

## IRAQ

THE Iraq Parliament at Bagdad, on June 9, rejected the Anglo-Iraq treaty by a decisive vote. This placed the British Government in a dilemma. Either Iraq must be abandoned, with a simultaneous abandonment of the mandate for that country entrusted to Britain by the League of Nations, or Britain must continue to exercise control, against the will of the representatives of the people. A way out may be found under the second plan by effecting a new agreement.

The chief features of the defeated Anglo-Iraq treaty have been previously noted in these columns. Early in May two letters were published

at Bagdad from Sir Henry Dobbs, British High Commissioner, to King Faisal. Sir Henry stated that the British Government was unable to consent to any modifications of the treaty, which must be accepted or rejected as a whole. On the other hand, the British Government would not surrender any of Iraq's just claims as regards Mosul; it would ask the League of Nations to accept the treaty as a substitute for the mandate; it would not, so far as this lay in its own power, continue to hold a mandate after the termination of the present treaty, and, finally, it would be prepared to review the terms of the treaty after it had been ratified. It may be questioned whether this somewhat high-handed attempt at dictation did not act toward the defeat of the treaty.

Most of the Ulema (expounders of the Koran) who went into voluntary exile in Persia several months ago returned at the beginning of May. Their chief remained in Persia.

It was reported from Palmyra that in consequence of an insurrection of Kurds, British aviators had bombed the towns of Ramandi, Kirkuk and Suleimanieh. The Kurds were believed to have rebelled because they had not been restored to political union with Turkey. A British Colonial Office report describes a disturbance at Kirkuk on May 4, when a quarrel between three soldiers and three shopkeepers led to rioting, in which six soldiers and about 100 townspeople were killed.

A group of Englishmen has been examining irrigation possibilities near Fallujah, on the Euphrates, and Kizil Robat, on the Diyala. In both regions immense developments are possible. In view, however, of uncertain political and commercial conditions, it is proposed to begin with small experimental projects, especially directed toward testing the possibilities of cotton growing.

## PERSIA

FULLER information has come to hand in regard to the events near the time of the Persian New Year, March 21. The expectation in Teheran was that a republic would be proclaimed without serious opposition. The press and republican agitators appeared to have prepared the way adequately throughout the country. Conservatives and notables had accepted the plan, and the chiefs of the Bakhtiari tribe resident in Teheran had offered assistance in the same direction. Automobiles and carriages, decorated in red, drove about the streets and distributed handbills. Because of certain slight disturbances on March 19 and 20 the Government closed the bazaars. This caused great disaffection among the shopkeepers. An Opposition group in the Parliament obstructed a plan to hasten the declaration of a republic. On March 21 the Crown Prince held a reception, which took the place of a formal "salaam" such as the Shah or his representatives had been ac-

customed to hold in former years. On the following day large crowds assembled near the Parliament building, and were harangued by priests in denunciation of the republic and in support of the monarchy. The Prime Minister, Sardar Sepah, chief promoter of the republican movement, appeared on the scene and stones were thrown at him. It is affirmed that he had been told the crowd would demonstrate in his favor and that he was greatly surprised and angered at its hostile attitude. In any case he ordered the soldiers to charge upon the crowd, with the result that a considerable number of persons were seriously injured. The popular feeling was so strong that the republican movement was abandoned. The Prime Minister succeeded in saving himself by repudiating republicanism. He remains the actual head of the State, but the Kajar Dynasty, though deprived of all influence, still holds the throne of Persia nominally.

On April 7 Sardar Sepah withdrew from Teheran to a country house and sent a letter to the Parliament which was equivalent to a resignation. There was great consternation in the capital. The Parliament next day passed by a large majority a vote of confidence, and sent a deputation to the Prime Minister, asking him to return and to resume power. Sardar Sepah consented and returned on the 12th. With the formal approval of the Valiahd, or Crown Prince, and of the Shah, who telegraphed from Europe, he formed a new Cabinet, which differed but little from the previous one, and announced a fresh program. In this he proposed the ratification of the Sinclair oil concessions, measures for the construction of railways and roads, the extension of postal and telegraph communication and plans to improve education and introduce a uniform system of weights and measures. Semi-official statements suggest that the whole episode involved a struggle between the Premier and the Parliament, wherein the latter triumphed in the interest of the law and the Constitution, yet without diminishing "the effectiveness of the army as the chief instrument for the preservation of order."

A railroad commission was formed about March 1, consisting of certain Ministers and American advisers. It is planned to construct speedily a motor highway from Mohammerah, on the Persian Gulf, through Teheran to the Caspian. The highway is to be made suitable for the roadbed of a railway, which is to be constructed thereon as soon as practicable. It is hoped to obtain iron from mines near Bandar Jaz, so that the rails may be of Persian manufacture.

A joint Anglo-Persian commission has been considering the settlement of British claims and Persian counter-claims. The British ask compensation for the protection of Southern Persia during the World War. The Persian contention is that these British activities were solely for



the protection of British interests. As regards other "floating debt claims," the Persian Government announced its willingness to assume all its legal obligations, and asked for documents establishing the amounts of the loans and advances made during and after the war. Counter-claims amounting to several million dollars include charges for the use of Persian roads and telegraphs, for the importation of goods without the payment of customs duties and for payments made by British authorities directly from Persian revenues.

The Persians are proud of the order and stability which exist at present in the country and of the improvement in revenues and economies in expenditures. It is planned to have by the end of the year a number of additional American advisers. It is hoped that the budget will balance during the year 1924-25. Certain new taxes have been planned. If the proposed American loan comes to fruition, about half of it will be allotted to the construction of a railway from south to north and the remainder will be used for reclamation and irrigation projects, port facilities, telegraph lines and so forth.

## The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT  
Professor of History, Stanford University

### CHINA

**A**FTER what seemed to be a deadlock in the Russo-Chinese negotiations, an agreement was signed on May 31 by Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Foreign Minister, and L. M. Karakhan, the Soviet envoy. The recognition of Soviet Russia was announced as unconditional.

The preliminary report of the Commission for the Readjustment of Finance, submitted to the Chinese President in April, shows the pitiful state of the Peking finances. Of the total estimated collections from the five main heads of revenue—the maritime customs, native customs, salt gabelle, wine and tobacco taxes, and stamp duties—amounting to \$209,000,000 (silver), about \$148,000,000 reaches Peking, the remainder being retained by the administrators of the provinces. Of this amount \$98,000,000 must be deducted for the service of debts secured upon the customs and salt revenues, and in addition \$43,000,000 is required for military subsidies and Treasury notes secured upon the salt surplus. With administrative expenses estimated at \$197,500,000, of which \$106,300,000 is required for the military forces of the Peking Government, only about \$7,000,000 is available. The foreign and domestic obligations amount to approximately \$2,355,570,840. With unsecured foreign and domestic debts in default in respect to back interest and principal, with officials unpaid, and essential public services starved for funds, only drastic measures can restore financial solvency and administrative efficiency. Every one knows what should be done, but no practical method has been devised. The Tutchuns (military Governors of the provinces) must be reduced to subordination, the hordes of

worthless soldiery must be disbanded and the revenues due to the Central Government must be remitted in full.

Attention was centred on Canton when the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the President of the South China Government, was reported on May 14. This was promptly denied, and on May 18 he came forward to welcome Captain Pelletier d'Oisy, the French round-the-world flier, who landed in Canton after a five-and-a-half-hour flight from Hanoi. On May 22 an American newspaper correspondent was granted an interview in which Dr. Sun said:

I declare that as long as foreign powers, including the United States Government, persist in recognition of the Wu Pei-fu clique as the Chinese Government there will and must be disorder and strife in China. I beg for no assistance at the hands of foreign powers, but as the founder of the new order in China I have the right to demand the neutrality of the foreign powers in our internal affairs. Otherwise the day may come when harassed China may be the hand to set afire another world conflagration.

The list of foreign victims of Chinese bandits and pirates grew during the month. On May 5 the motor boat Oporto was seized by pirates between Canton and Kongmoon, the Portuguese master and an Indian guard were killed and forty Chinese passengers kidnapped. On May 17 an American, Jay Dinsmore, was shot by bandits near Nangia, Fukien, dying four days later. At the same time an Australian, A. G. McKay, and five Chinese employes of the China Import and Export Lumber Company were taken prisoner and held for ransom. On May 28 word was received of an attack by pirates at Wuchow, Kwangsi, upon the motor boat Roanoke, belonging to the American Southern Baptist mission. Two Americans, R. P. Ray and Dr. H. G. Miller, and two British subjects, the Rev. Robert A. Jaff-

ray and Carne, as well as twenty Chinese, were taken prisoner. The Chinese captain of the Roanoke was released in order to carry out the ransom demands. Later Miller and Jaffray were sent out to arrange for the ransom of the other hostages. The demand was for \$100,000 (silver) in cash and a store of fighting materials. The Roanoke was on its way to the relief of ten American and ten British missionaries who were besieged in Kweilin, where two had been reported killed. On May 29 Chinese troops fired upon the British gunboat Robin on its way from Canton to Waiche, wounding Commander Tudway. The gunboat returned the fire.

Hsuan Tung, the youthful Manchu Emperor, continues to break the ancient palace traditions. He has taken the English name Henry for himself, and chosen Elizabeth as that for his bride. Recently he visited the home of his tutor. Reginald Fleming, for tea, where he met a number of foreigners. The tutor of the Empress is Miss Isabel Ingram, a Wellesley graduate. Rabin-dranath Tagore, the Indian philosopher and poet, who has been lecturing in Peking, was later invited to visit the Emperor in company with Nsang Shiao-sho, the Chinese poet.

Captain d'Oisy proceeded on his flight from Canton on May 20 to Shanghai, where his machine was wrecked. The Military Governor of Chekiang lent him a plane and he arrived at Peking on May 29.

## JAPAN

LATER official reports of the results of the election of the Japanese House of Representatives, on May 10, are as follows:

Kenseikai .....	146
Seiyuhonto .....	120
Seiyukai .....	101
Kakushin Club .....	30
Business Men's Party.....	8
Independents .....	57
Unknown .....	2

The Seiyuhonto, supporters of the Kiyoura Ministry, were overwhelmingly defeated, but no one of the three leading rivals secured a clear majority. The bitterly contested election was marked by disorders in many places, and by reports of the lavish use of money by some of the candidates. The issues were purely domestic, primarily those of support or opposition to the Ministry. Such popular cries as "universal suffrage," "constitutional government" and "Upper House reform" were used by the opposition. Five-sixths of the representatives were returned by rural voters, due not only to the importance of the agricultural element, but to the fact that the three-yen (\$1.50) tax qualification is largely collected from land-holders. An unexpected feature of the election was the defeat of many members of the previous House, including former

Ministers, some 250 candidates without parliamentary experience being chosen by the electors. This would indicate a lack of confidence in the professional politicians and an endorsement of liberal rather than bureaucratic tendencies. The resignation of the Kiyoura Ministry did not immediately take place, as was generally expected. After some deliberation it decided to remain in office at least until the celebration of the wedding of the Prince Regent on June 5. Subsequently Viscount Kato, leader of the Kenseikai, largest opposition group, was summoned to form a new Cabinet, which he did, and a Ministry representing a coalition of three parties, the Kenseikai, the Seiyukai and the Kakushin Club was formally installed with the following personnel:

Viscount KOFUJI KATO—Prime Minister.  
 Baron KIJURO SHIDEHARA—Foreign Minister.  
 REJIRO WAKATSUKI—Home Minister.  
 YUGO HAMAGUCHI—Minister of Finance.  
 General UGAKI—Minister of War.  
 Admiral TAKARABE—Minister of the Navy.  
 SENNOSUKE YOKITA—Minister of Justice.  
 RYOHEI OKADA—Minister of Education.  
 KOREKIYO TAKAHASHI—Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.  
 KI INUKAI—Minister of Communications.  
 MITSUGI SENGOKU—Minister of Railways.

The release of two Japanese officers, held prisoner by the Russian authorities at Vladivostok for two months, was announced on May 24. This removed one of the barriers in the way of a Russo-Japanese understanding.

The Department of Finance announced that if the loan market conditions were favorable domestic bonds totaling 653,000,000 yen would be issued during 1924-25. Of this amount 410,000,000 yen would be required for the conversion of old issues maturing during the year. The new issues are required almost entirely for reconstruction work.

The Privy Council has recommended to the Prince Regent that the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey be ratified. When the formalities are completed the treaty will then come into force, as Great Britain and Italy already have ratified it.

The visit of Governor General Merlin of French Indo-China was the occasion for diplomatic conversations looking to a Franco-Japanese commercial treaty concerning Indo-China, consisting of the French colony of Cochin China and the protectorates of Annam, Tonkin, Cambodia and Laos, in their commerce with which the Japanese at present do not possess most-favored-nation treatment.

Captain d'Oisy, the French airman, arrived at Senoshima (Hiroshima) on the morning of June 8 from Taiku, Korea. He had made two previous attempts to cross the strait from Korea to Japan, but had been prevented by fog and storms.

[The subject of the new United States immigration law and the Japanese protest is dealt with in an article printed elsewhere in this magazine.]



# International Events

By ROBERT MCELROY

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**Republican Party Committed to World Court**—The various moves and counter-moves with relation to the United States entering the World Court were more definitely determined by the action of the Republican Convention than has heretofore been the case. The action of the convention was foreshadowed in the opening address of the Temporary Chairman, Congressman Burton, who committed the Republican Party to the World Court in these words:

The reservations which were made a condition of joining the World Court by President Harding and Secretary Hughes, whose action has since been approved by President Coolidge, make it certain that our adherence will not involve us in the League. There are sufficient safeguards and reservations to protect our own interests and they do not affect the purpose of the Court. A Republican Party in accord with its expressed policy should make every effort promptly to establish our membership in this great tribunal.

This utterance of Representative Burton was generally believed to have been approved by President Coolidge before its delivery. The Republican platform practically repeats the statement and clearly supports adhesion to the World Court as endorsed by President Coolidge. (The full text of the paragraph relating to this appears in the Republican platform printed elsewhere in this issue.)

**Failure of United States Naval Bill**—The Japanese irritation over the Immigration bill, it is believed in some countries, will endanger President Coolidge's plan for another disarmament conference. A bill passed both houses of Congress appropriating \$150,000,000 for building eight new scout cruisers and six river gunboats, and for the modernization of six battleships, but by a parliamentary tangle the bill failed of final enactment. The Republican platform and the present Administration warmly favor the proposal, and the bill will be re-enacted when Congress re-assembles in December.

The proposed appropriation would put the American Navy on the 5—5—3 basis; expert authorities contend that the present ratio is nearer 5—3—1, with America last. The Republican platform makes a definite pledge for another disarmament conference when the situation in Europe is more stabilized. It is felt that, if the disarmament conference is called by President Coolidge, the position of America at that conference will be very much strengthened by having available an appropriation of \$150,000,000 for the development of the navy.

## Russia Recognized by Russo-Chinese Treaty

China and Russia have harmonized their differences and Russia stands recognized by the Chinese Republic under a treaty signed by the representatives of both powers on May 31. It is reported that M. Karakhan, who negotiated the treaty, will probably be appointed Russia's first Ambassador to Peking. This would give him precedence over the Ministers of other powers and make him the doyen of the Peking diplomatic body. The new agreement unites the two most populous nations of the world. Russia and China have a common frontier 6,000 miles long, and this recognition puts the Soviet Republics in a position to take an active part in world affairs centring in the Pacific Ocean. The agreement is in most respects identical with the one negotiated by Dr. C. T. Wang in March last. It provides that the remainder of the Russian Boxer indemnity shall be devoted to education. M. Karakhan has also initiated negotiations to secure recognition from Japan, the main question hanging upon the solution of the "Nikolaevsk" affair of 1920, in which a considerable number of Japanese nationals were killed by Russian "partisan" forces—an event which the Japanese call "The Massacre," and the Russians "an unfortunate incident"—and upon the related question of Sakhalin Island, the former Russian portion of which was occupied and still is occupied by Japanese forces as a guarantee of settlement for the Nikolaevsk tragedy.

**Dawes Report**—Belgium and Italy, through their Premiers, on May 19 declared that they accepted the Dawes plan and wished an allied conference upon the subject called at once. Premier Poincaré in the last days of his Administration made an announcement that France had also accepted it without restrictions.

In the German Reichstag, on June 4, Chancellor Marx declared that: "The dominant question in international politics is the attitude of the nations concerned toward the experts' report on reparations. The German Government is convinced that this is a matter of life and death for Germany." Despite Communist opposition and the strong opposition of the Nationalists, the Dawes report was endorsed by a vote of 247 to 183, receiving the support of the three governing parties, the United Socialists, the Bavarian People's Party and the Economic League. Ludendorff's Freedom Party, the Nationalists and the Communists opposed the report. The Government at once began preparations to put the plan into execution.

Representative Burton, in opening the Republican Convention, referred to the Dawes plan in these words:

It was our conception that American experts in finance and economics, neutral in spirit but keenly interested in aiding other countries, should join in a non-political conference for the settlement of the troublesome problem of reparations, a settlement which would promote the cause of peace and lead to sound financial conditions and better trade relations in Europe. It was at the suggestion of our own Secretary of State and of President Coolidge that the Dawes Commission was convened. We await the results with earnest hope that the clash of conflicting interest may cease. America's aid will be given without stint and her boundless resources will be available in the way of loans.

This last statement is a direct reference to the contention that America should subscribe \$200,000,000 to a loan to Germany when the plan is in execution.

**Colombia Recognizes Panama**—The recognition by Colombia of Panama as an independent nation, announced by the Colombian Minister to the Panama Minister in the office of Secretary Hughes on May 8, marks the end of the estrangement which began in 1903, when Panama declared her independence and America took advantage of the declaration to carry through arrangements by which the Canal Zone was acquired and the canal made possible.

**The League of Nations**—Foreign Minister Benès of Czechoslovakia presided over the Council of the League of Nations at its June meeting.

The Argentine Government has remitted its dues to the League with a notification that Argentina would send a full delegation to the International Labor Conference which opens at Geneva on June 16. The Argentine Republic retired from the League Assembly in September, 1920, because the League had refused to deal with an amendment proposed by the Argentine representative favoring the admission of Germany to the League. President de Alvear of Argentina is a strong supporter of the League.

### **Italo-British Agreement in East Africa—**

The agreement between Italy and Great Britain in regard to Jubaland, East Africa, is internationally important. The Italian claims arose from a clause in the Treaty of London, signed April 26, 1915, by which Britain and France agreed if their colonial domains were augmented at the expense of the German colonies, that Italy would be entitled to equitable compensation, notably in relation to the revision of the frontiers of her African colonies where they adjoin those of French and British colonies. It was previously agreed that Somaliland should be enlarged by the addition of part of the adjacent Jubaland province of British East Africa (Kenya Colony). Here the frontier was the River Juba, the left bank of which was Italian, the right British. Lord Milner, the original negotiator, agreed that part of the Valley of Kenya, together with the Port of Kismayu, should be ceded to Italy. This was accepted "with the reservation in favor of the greater extension of territory in Jubaland." The British Government consented, on condition that the cession should become effective only as part of the general settlement of all issues raised at the Peace Conference. This contention has hitherto stood in the way of a settlement. By the negotiations between Premier MacDonald and Premier Mussolini final settlement was made on these terms.

### **Belgian Deportees Lose Suit at Geneva—**

The collective damage suit brought against the German Government by 80,000 Belgians who were deported for forced labor during the World War and whose case had been on trial at Geneva for several months before the Mixed German Arbitration Tribunal was lost by the plaintiffs. Paul Moriaud, a Swiss jurist, who presided, ruled that the Treaty of Versailles deprived the tribunal of jurisdiction and held that the deported persons must look exclusively to the Governments concerned and to the Reparation Commission to obtain indemnity for losses and damages.





# Armies and Navies of the World

## THE UNITED STATES

**C**HARGES concerning the material condition of the navy were put forth on the floor of the House of Representatives during the past month. They were the outcome of statements regarding specific weaknesses made by W. B. Shearer in *The New York Times* and by Admiral R. E. Coontz, in his report as Commander-in-Chief of the fleet.

The Secretary of the Navy, replying to a series of twenty-seven questions prepared by Representative Fred Britten of Illinois, said that he considered the navy to be 20 per cent. under its treaty strength if some of its principal weaknesses, such as the lack of even a single real base, were not considered. The effect of the Secretary's statement on Congress was to bring charges from several members that the navy was at least 40 per cent. below its treaty strength. Representative Britten went further and declared that the navy was nearer 60 per cent. below its treaty strength than the 20 per cent. admitted by Secretary Wilbur. Many resolutions were offered for an investigation of the condition of the navy, but none of them was passed. Finally the Butler bill, authorizing the construction of eight 10,000-ton cruisers and the modernization of six battleships was reported to the House by the Naval Committee. An amendment was proposed by Representative Britten to make available \$6,500,000 to elevate the guns of thirteen of the older battleships, but this was defeated. Eventually the House of Representatives passed the bill, which authorized Congress only to appropriate the funds for a small part of what is needed and at a future date. In the Senate the Butler bill was passed on first reading, but shortly before the adjournment Senator King of Utah demanded and obtained the recommitment of the bill, so that no progress has been made in the direction of bringing the navy up to its treaty strength.

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE

**W**HEN questioned in the House of Commons, Prime Minister MacDonald again refused to make the charge that in modernizing its fleet the United States was defeating the purposes of the Naval Treaty. The British Naval and Military Record points out that Great Britain should be careful about making charges concerning modernization, as the battle cruiser *Renown* has been under modernization for the best part of a year

and similar work is contemplated by the Admiralty on other vessels.

## JAPAN

**A**CCORDING to press reports emanating from Japan, the present strained relations between Japan and the United States are being used by the Navy Department as a lever to put forth the most ambitious program of naval expansion of the decade. The Navy Department on April 13 announced its estimates for the restoration of properties damaged by the earthquake and to cover a ten-year program of rebuilding and replacement of arms and munitions. They called for 892,000,000 yen, or approximately \$446,000,000. It was originally planned that this appropriation should be presented to the Diet as a special budget at the extraordinary session in June. Much publicity is being used to secure the adoption of this large appropriation. Soho Tokutomi, editor of the *Tokio Kokumin*, for example, speaking on the subject of armaments, said: "The Washington Conference did not solve the problem of peace. We must arm ourselves properly. I have not the slightest doubt regarding the good-will of the other powers interested in the Pacific, but it is unwise to trust our national security to the good-will of others."

The large destroyer No. 15 was launched at the Fujinagata yard at Osaka in April and completed in May. She is the third large destroyer to be completed since Jan. 1. She displaces about 1,550 tons as against 1,215 tons for the largest American destroyer.

The submarine No. 22 collided with the naval tanker *Hondo* off Kure, April 28. It appears that the tanker was the more seriously damaged.

## SPAIN

**T**HE abandonment of the battleship *España*, wrecked some months ago off the North African Coast, leaves Spain with but two vessels in the capital ship class. According to an announcement the Minister of Marine, Admiral the Marquis of Magaz, the old coast defense ship *Pelayo*, the armored cruiser *Carlos V.* and the training ship *Nautilus* will be scrapped immediately and will be replaced by three new ships. This gave rise to speculation in the Spanish press as to the probability of the construction in the near future of three new capital ships of 35,000 tons, alluded to by the Minister of Marine at the League of Nations Conference in Rome. It is stated that these vessels were a part of the inducement that brought the Krupp shipbuilding plant to Barcelona.

Of the program in hand, the destroyer *Alcedo* has been completed. On her trials the vessel made close to thirty-seven knots. The two other ships of her class have been launched and should be completed by the end of the year. The fast cruisers *Don Blas Lezo* and *Pedro Nuñez* have been completed and added to the fleet. Steaming easily and with a heavy load aboard these ships made twenty-eight knots on trials. The reports regarding the trials of the *Reina Victoria Eugenia* indicate a speed of 25.7 knots. Work on the two larger cruisers building at Ferrol is progressing and the *Principe Alfonso* is about to be launched. All the 610-ton submarines of the "B" class have been completed but, as a result of trials in which, it is said, none of them approximated the stipulated speed of sixteen knots, they are rather adversely criticized. Six new vessels, to be the "C"

type of 900 tons surface displacement, 1,116 tons submerged displacement, carrying one 75-millimeter gun and six 21-inch torpedo tubes, have been started at Cartagena. It is expected that they will be completed by 1930.

Two new training ships have been purchased. One, the *Minerva*, 3,300 tons, is equipped with Diesel engines and will be used as a training ship for midshipmen and for the submarine branch. The second vessel, the *Clarastella*, of 2,500 tons, also Diesel driven, will be used as a training ship for boys. Both vessels were purchased in Italy.

The royal yacht *Giralda*, which was fitted out specially for oceanographic research and lent to the late Prince of Monaco in 1921, is stated to have returned to Cartagena, where she is to be transferred to a group of Spanish scientists.

## Deaths of Persons of Prominence

SIR LOUIS HENRY DAVIES, Chief Justice for Canada and distinguished statesman, at Ottawa, Ontario, May 1, aged 79.

DEAN C. WORCESTER, Secretary of the Interior in the Philippine Islands, 1901-13, and an authority on affairs in that territory at Manila, P. I., May 2, aged 58.

MRS. CHARLES A. STEVENSON (KATE CLAXTON), American dramatic actress, at New York, N. Y., May 5, aged 74. Miss Claxton, best known for her rôle in "The Two Orphans," was a national stage favorite for thirty years.

BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT, French Senator and diplomat, at Paris, May 15, aged 73. Baron de Constant's efforts toward universal peace won him wide recognition; in 1909 he was co-recipient with M. Beernaert of the Nobel Peace Prize.

DR. ERNEST LAPLACE, American surgeon and inventor of the first forceps for intestinal anastomosis, at Philadelphia, Pa., May 15, aged 63. Born in New Orleans of French Creole parents, Dr. Laplace later studied under Pasteur and Lister; many nations honored him, for his surgical achievements both as practitioner and author were notable.

EMANUEL REICHER, celebrated German actor, at Berlin, May 15, aged 75. Herr Reicher did much to popularize Ibsen.

MAJOR GEN. SIR CHARLES V. F. TOWNSHEND,

British soldier, whose brilliant defense of Kut-el-Amara, Mesopotamia, against the Turks in 1916, forms a dramatic chapter of the history of the World War, at Paris, May 18, aged 63.

SIR EDWARD GOSCHEN, British Ambassador to Germany from 1908 until the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, at London, May 20, aged 77. Sir Edward was the authority for the statement that Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg had called the Belgian neutrality treaty "a scrap of paper."

VICTOR HERBERT, American composer, at New York, N. Y., May 26, aged 64. Mr. Herbert wrote many comic operas which enjoyed wide popularity.

FREDERICO BOYD, former President of the Republic of Panama, at New York, N. Y., May 25, aged 73. Mr. Boyd, who was of Scottish-American ancestry, was one of the founders of the Panaman Republic and in 1910 became its first President.

PAUL CAMBON, for twenty years French Ambassador to Great Britain, at Paris, May 29. M. Cambon, who was an intimate of King Edward, was credited with being one of the principal molders of the Entente Cordiale.

WILLIAM JAMES, VISCOUNT PIRRIE, British ship-builder and reputedly one of the richest men in England, on board the steamship *Ebro*, en route to New York, June 7, aged 77. Lord Pirrie was stricken with pneumonia while on a tour of South American ports.



# Recent Scientific Developments

By WATSON DAVIS  
Managing Editor, Science Service

TO join the written and spoken word in nearly instantaneous journeys between widely separated cities there now come "telephoned photographs." During the past month engineers of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company demonstrated that a photographic negative taken in one city can be transmitted over a telephone wire to a city many miles away. The time actually necessary for the sending of the photograph is less than five minutes. The method is a perfection and assembly of known inventions rather than a new, sudden and startling development. The time had come when photographs should be wired from city to city. The telephone engineers invented to order.

In principle, the method of sending the photographs by wire is simple. A negative is wrapped around a cylinder of the transmitting machine in such a way that a beam of light passing through the negative can impress upon a photo-sensitive cell the variations in light and darkness of the negative. The photo-sensitive cell has the power of translating these variations in light into variations of electric current in a manner analogous to the way in which the transmitter of the ordinary telephone changes variations in sound into variations in electric current. The modulated electric current coming out from the transmitting machine is handled just as if it were a long distance telephone call and it finally finds its way into a receiving machine located in a distant city where the electric current is changed back into variations of light. These light variations when impressed on a photographic film produce a picture corresponding to the picture in the distant city.

The first actual use of the new method of transmitting pictures by wire came in anticipation of the Republican National Convention at Cleveland, when photographs were wired from that city to New York, and subsequently during the convention. It is planned eventually to inaugurate a regular service for the transmission of photographs for use in newspapers, by police departments and for other purposes.

While telephone engineers were transmitting photographs over long distances, Air Service photographers were making records in long distance photography. The highest altitude from which the surface of the earth has been photographed was reached over Dayton, Ohio, when

a picture was taken from the height of over six miles, or 32,220 feet.

From the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, London, comes important news to those interested in the transmission of power. Electricity is generated most economically at voltages ranging from 6,000 to 10,000, and for long distance transmission this pulsating or alternating current of relatively low voltage is put through transformers and raised to higher voltages. Electrical engineers have long desired to use high voltage direct current on transmission lines in place of the high voltage alternating current which is standard today. The lack of electrical machinery which will economically convert low voltage alternating current into high voltage direct current and vice versa has stood in the way. At Wembley there is exhibited for the first time a "transverter," a piece of apparatus that performs the function of both transformer and rotary converter, making the desired change of ordinary low pressure alternating current into high pressure direct current. Large power projects, particularly those that involve the interconnection of several transmission systems, such as the superpower projects, are likely to be aided by this invention. The operation of direct current transmission lines will not require such high technical skill as at present demanded by alternating current transmission lines, and, moreover, more power in the form of direct current can be sent over a transmission line than if that line were used for alternating current.

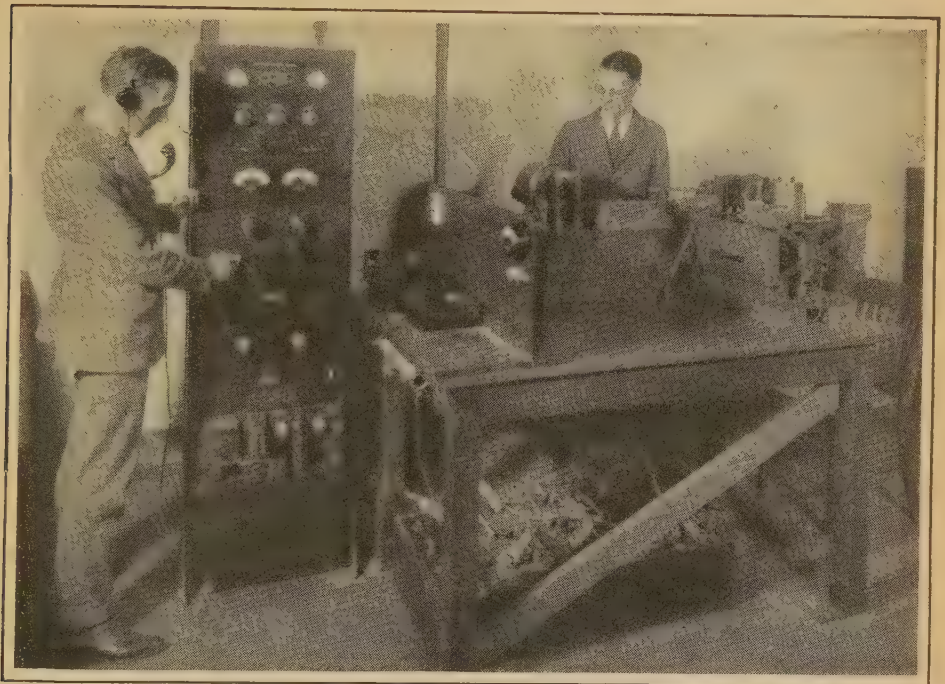
While a large portion of the public has been willing to accept the possibility of the invention of "death rays" which several experimenters in Europe claim to have perfected, scientists have in most cases assumed a frankly skeptical attitude and are waiting for further proof.

Coincident with a very wet and late Spring in the Eastern United States, the discovery made by the International Ice Patrol that a portion of the ocean covering the Grand Banks of Newfoundland is 7 degrees higher in temperature than normal for the time of the year has led weather experts to connect the warmer ocean water with the temporary climatic change. The warm ocean, which seems to have missed receiving great quantities of Arctic ice and colder water, has created a large low-pressure area which settled down over the Grand Banks for weeks and caused the path of general storms in the Eastern part of the



A picture that was transmitted a distance of 522 miles over a telephone wire. This photograph of the Cuyahoga River at Cleveland was sent from that city to New York on May 19, 1921, in 4½ minutes by a new process of electrical transmission developed by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, this being the first time such successful results have been obtained. It is important to note that the photograph was in no way retouched before being sent to the engravers, and that therefore it shows exactly what the new process accomplishes.





Receiving apparatus used in the transmission of photographs over telephone wires installed in the Telephone Building, 195 Broadway, New York City

United States to be shifted further south than usual, bringing with them the wetter weather.

During one of these storms, one of America's leading meteorologists, Dr. C. Leroy Meisinger of the United States Weather Bureau, sacrificed his life to science. For two months he and his pilot, Lieutenant J. T. Neeley, had been riding the storms in an army balloon in order to study their paths and causes. Into a storm their balloon would ascend to be carried as the winds determined, thousands of feet above the earth, while Dr. Meisinger made observations. During the tenth flight both Dr. Meisinger and Lieutenant Neeley were dashed to earth and killed as the result of the destruction of their balloon during a thunderstorm.

Weather has been conquered and prevented from interfering with the work of another Government department. Surveying parties of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey have in the past been unable to map many parts of the coast on account of dense fog. A new method of marine surveying, using a combination of radio and sound waves instead of the usual visual method, has been perfected through joint research by the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the United States Bureau of Standards. A bomb is fired under water near a vessel and the sound travels until it reaches an underwater telephone connected

by cable with a shore radio station. The sound received by this underwater telephone causes the radio to signal the ship, and a computation based on the time involved allows the accurate establishment of the position of the vessel. By use of this method survey parties can operate equally well in clear or foggy weather.

Of particular interest to America, whose veterinarians are engaged in a conflict with foot-and-mouth disease on the Pacific Coast, is the announcement of the discovery of the germ of foot-and-mouth disease made by Dr. Heinrichs Frosch and Professor Robert Dahmen of the Berlin Veterinary Research Institution. Although their experiments have not yet been confirmed by other scientists, they announce that the bacilli causing foot-and-mouth disease are too small to be seen with the highest power microscope, but by photography with light waves of short wave length they are revealed as rods about a ten-thousandth of a millimeter in length. These tiny bacilli clot together to form globules about the size of the red corpuscle of the blood, and these groups can be seen easily with the microscope.

At the meeting of the American Medical Association a new theory which may bring closer the solution of the nature of tuberculosis and its cure was submitted by Dr. H. J. Corper of Denver. He and his co-workers have found that

when carbon is injected into the veins as a liquid suspension it deposits in various organs of the body, including the lungs, where it seems to have a retarding influence on the development of pulmonary tuberculosis. As a result of research on thousands of animals, Dr. Corper reports that 3 per cent. of carbon dioxide prevents the growth of tubercle bacilli, while 15 per cent. kills them. In spite of the promise of this treatment, many steps must yet be taken before it can be applied to human beings.

Another important health measure, of a pro-

phylactic rather than a remedial nature, was inaugurated at a conference called by President Coolidge in Washington. This meeting was called to consider wholesome outdoor play in America's great outdoors for adults as well as children, and was attended by naturalists, scientists, forestry and park experts, and those interested in sports, playgrounds, scout movements, child welfare and similar activities. The outcome of the conference was the organization of the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation, which will hold annual meetings.

## World Finance—A Month's Survey

By FRANCIS H. SISSON  
Prominent American Financier

THE enactment on June 2 of the new revenue measure, the result of various compromises, was the outstanding legislative achievement of the recent session of Congress and the most important fiscal event of the year in the United States. The general opinion among business interests seems to be that the best that can be said for the new law is that it brings immediate reduction in the tax burden; relief, however, which would have been more extensive except for the granting of a bonus to the ex-service men. Many business men insist that it is not enough merely to cut down taxes regardless of the manner in which the remaining tax burden is shared. They point out that what the Administration and the country desired was genuine economy in the expenditure of the people's money by the Government, with taxes correspondingly reduced, but at the same time so co-ordinated as to represent the least possible handicap in the promotion of the common welfare. The compromise law, they assert, represents no real economy in public expenditure. Owing to the collection of surplus revenues, the public debt has been reduced recently at the rate of more than \$1,000,000,000 a year, or twice as rapidly as is required by the sinking fund provisions. Now, with the revenues reduced about \$360,000,000 a year, and with the added burden of the bonus, the net effect of the law will be that the Treasury takes less money from the taxpayers and cuts down its schedule of debt reduction. Unsatisfactory to many business interests as is the new law in many of its features, there is advantage in the fact that it does make definite for a time at least what taxes are to be borne.

Second in importance only to the new Revenue act, from a financial and economic point of

view, was the enactment on May 19 over the President's veto of the bill providing a bonus for veterans of the World War. The law will entail additional Government expenditures estimated at sums ranging from \$2,281,000,000 to about \$4,000,000,000, or an annual outlay averaging from \$114,000,000, the lowest estimate, to approximately \$200,000,000, according to other estimates, for twenty years. This bonus is in addition to the sum of more than \$400,000,000 a year now being expended for the care of the disabled veterans. It is considered fortunate that for the most part the dole is in the form of insurance certificates rather than cash payments. Only after two years will the privilege of borrowing from the banks on the security of the certificates become operative, and the maximum sums that may be borrowed, starting at about 9 per cent. of the face amount of the policies, will be on a gradually ascending scale. Thus, the financial readjustments made necessary, as well as the release of new purchasing power, may be effected gradually and without violent shock to business in general. The stock market reacted quickly and sharply to the passage of the Bonus bill, which precipitated heavy selling.

A spurt in Liberty bonds, accompanied by a decline in money rates to the lowest in several years, attended the flotation on June 9 of a new issue of \$150,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness by the United States Treasury at the post-war record low interest rate of 2½ per cent.; the rise continued and new high records were reached by all issues.

The 2 per cent. call loan rate of the New York Stock Exchange on June 9 was the lowest since November 3, 1919, when the same rate was quoted,



and the opening quotation at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. was the lowest for the start of the day's business since August 8, 1917. The ninety-day rate was  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., the lowest since July, 1922, and money for five to six months was obtained at 4 per cent. For the first time in New York's financial history bankers' acceptances were quoted up to 120 days at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  asked and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  bid, with very little business.

Then came another reduction in the rediscount rate, this time to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., making the second for this year, which was announced on June 11 by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, to become effective the following day. This action, which had not generally been anticipated in Wall Street, was followed by a similar cut by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. The New York bank's rate, which is regarded as of vital importance to commercial and banking business, was lowered from 4 per cent., and the Boston reduction from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Both changes, of course, attested the growing abundance of money. For the first time since the war the New York rates are now on a par with those of London, so that the two great financial centres are on an even footing as bankers of the world. Prices of securities advanced briskly as a direct consequence.

#### DECLINING INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY.

Further slowing down of industrial production was the principal feature of the business situation during the last thirty days. The gradual decline of average wholesale prices continued, but at a slower pace than earlier in the year. Wholesale trade was increasingly hesitant, and retail trade receded somewhat from the levels of April. While political factors accentuated the weakening of general confidence, the determining influences were economic. Lack of balance in the industrial situation during the last thirty days induced readjustments of production. Activity in the building field was curtailed here and there as the housing situation was relieved, and this in turn was reflected in a variety of industries supplying materials for the construction and equipment of buildings. The steel and automotive industries have fallen in line with those reporting reduced output. The iron and steel industry is operating at present on about a 50 per cent. of capacity basis. Production of pig iron during May was 2,615,110 tons, as contrasted with 3,233,428 tons in April, representing a decline of 23,423 tons a day, or 21 per cent. in the daily rate of production, which has been characterized as "an unparalleled cut." There was a net loss of 46 blast furnaces in May, following a loss of 40 in April. The 184 furnaces in blast on June 1 had an estimated capacity of 77,300 tons a day, as against 96,365 tons a day for the 230 active furnaces at the beginning of May. The average daily production of steel ingots

for the twenty-seven working days of May was 97,343 tons. This is the smallest daily average for any month since February, 1922. The production of motor vehicles decreased 19 per cent. in May, as compared with April. The total for May was estimated at 301,200 cars, representing a decrease of 23 per cent. from the total for May of last year, the largest monthly production in the automotive industry's history. Output during the first five months of this year, however, was ahead of that for the corresponding period of 1923, and reached the largest total for any similar period on record, with 1,742,832, against 1,648,832 in the corresponding period last year.

Loadings of revenue freight totaled 819,904 cars in the week ended May 31, a decrease of 112,780 from Decoration Day week last year; it was a gain of 80,345 cars over the similar period in 1922. Despite the more or less drastic economy measures adopted by the Class 1 carriers during the month of April to meet the falling off in revenues, complete returns for that month from the country at large, announced on June 5, indicate an aggregate net operating income of \$61,821,900, or at an annual rate of 4.72 per cent. on their tentative valuation. This compares with \$83,515,300, or 6.50 per cent. last year, and with \$80,239,884, or 5.63 per cent. in March, 1924. During April 41 railroads operated at a loss, of which 19 were in the East and 22 in the West.

Business failures in May numbered 1,816, as contrasted with 1,707 in April and with 1,530 in May of last year. Notwithstanding the large number of failures, however, liabilities aggregated \$36,590,905, compared with \$48,904,452 in April and \$41,022,277 in May, 1923.

The statements of the gross sales of all the larger chain store companies for May show an increase compared with the corresponding month of last year.

#### CORPORATE FINANCING AND BANK CLEARINGS

Due chiefly to the state of the money market corporate financing in May was exceptionally heavy. Bonds, notes and stock issued by railroad, industrial and public utility corporations totaled \$515,553,490, against \$249,658,000 in May, 1923. Of the total issued in May, \$268,075,900 represented public utility obligations, \$133,126,490 industrial corporations and \$114,351,100 railroad issues. The outstanding feature of May issues was the offering of \$150,000,000 American Telephone and Telegraph Company common stock. Railroad men and bankers were gratified by the success of the \$35,000,000 of Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company refunding and general mortgage bonds which were taken by dealers within two hours after the opening of the subscription books.

In addition to corporate issues put out in May, there were also offered \$9,250,000 Czecho-

slovak Republic externals, and about \$6,000,000 various joint land bank issues.

On June 13 \$10,000,000 gold notes of the Argentine Government were sold in this market. At the beginning of the current month, a syndicate of banks offered \$67,400,000 of New York City securities, which were quickly absorbed.

Notwithstanding trade reports which have indicated slackening business, checks drawn on banks and exchanged at important clearing houses of the country during May, aggregating \$36,693,688,644, were greater than those for April and 2.8 per cent. more than those for May, 1923.

On June 3, silver bullion reached 67 1-8 cents, which was a new high record for this year. The lowest price was .62 3-4 cents last January. The principal factor in the present market is the continuous strong demand of the Far East, particularly from India, where economic conditions have been steadily improving for the last two years. Europe also is bringing more silver than at any time since before the war, especially for purposes of coinage.

The French franc was quoted at 4.90 cents on June 5, as contrasted with 6.85 cents on April 28, but quickly recovered after the political crisis was ended.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

As a whole the general condition of crops in the United States on June 1 was lower than on any other June 1 during the last twelve years. Unseasonable weather was the cause. Crops in the Pacific Coast States were affected by unusually warm weather and drought, while the coldest May in years damaged the crops in most of the country east of the Rockies. Unusually heavy and frequent rainfalls have been disastrous. The forecast for Winter wheat is 509,000,000 bushels. This is 44,000,000 bushels, or 8 per cent., below May forecast. Cotton acreage will be much greater than last year, and larger quantities of fertilizer are being used. The condition of cotton on May 25 was estimated at 65.6 per cent. of par, compared with a ten-year average of 72.8 per cent.

#### THE FRENCH AND GERMAN SITUATIONS

The French and German political situations have delayed action on the experts' reparations recommendations. The quick change early in June in Germany's position, as expressed by the vote of the Reichstag on June 6 of 247 to 183 in favor of accepting the Dawes report, strengthened the anticipation of a satisfactory outcome. While the French Presidential crisis has been disturbing, it is hoped abroad that whatever Government succeeds to power the blunder of not

balancing the budget will be avoided, and the belief is expressed that the new French Cabinet will give greater cooperation than did the Poincaré Administration in attempting to settle the reparation problem. The French Cabinet on May 22 approved proposed economies in the budget appropriations for 1924 amounting to 420,000,000 francs. Other economies will be left to the new Cabinet.

The recent acute crisis in exchange in Germany is temporarily over, and the market's full demand for all foreign currencies during the first week in June was met. The gold discount bank continues to expand its credits, the total in its return for May 31 being £5,384,864, as contrasted with £3,611,270 on May 23. Nevertheless, the credit stringency is even worse, and there are many reports of industrial concerns reducing output solely because of lack of working capital. President Schacht of the Reichsbank early in June repeated with emphasis his statement that neither the Reichsbank nor the Rentenbank would do anything to relieve the strain on credit, saying that "industry must look out for itself." Any new credit, Schacht declared, could be created only by means of the note-printing press, and this was not to be thought of. He added: "All attempts to relieve the credit stringency will fail unless we attain tranquillity at home." Nevertheless, the Reichsbank has given 20,000,000 gold marks' credit to help the farmers over their losses caused by frost, and the Rentenbank has advanced 30,000,000 rentenmarks to promote agricultural production. The German Finance Ministry's report for the third ten-day term of May, issued on June 1, showed revenue of 175,721,813 gold marks, and expenditure of 187,101,731. The expenditure, however included 43,784,396 devoted to redeeming the gold loan; consequently the actual revenue surplus of the period exceeded 32,000,000 gold marks. Thus far in the fiscal year, which began on April 1, the revenue has been 1,076,962,300 gold marks, and the expenditure 1,110,583,620. This leaves an apparent deficit of 33,621,320 gold marks. But in this entire period the amount spent for redemption of the gold loan of 1923 was 197,103,149; consequently the actual result of the period since the beginning of the year has been a surplus of 163,481,829 gold marks.

#### BRITISH ECONOMIC SITUATION

Great congestion of traffic resulted from the London underground railway strike which occurred at the beginning of June, but was lost by the strikers because the National Union discontinued it. There has been a distinct improvement in the British cotton trade, and the tendency is now evident to take a more cheerful



view in the industry generally. Confidence, perhaps, has not been so strong in the last week or so, however, owing to the falling off in orders. But spinners and manufacturers seem assured that the worst of the depression through which the industry has passed is now over. Great Britain has finished the fiscal year with a surplus of nearly £50,000,000 and her unemployed are decreasing in number.

#### CONDITIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

An encouraging reduction of the adverse balance against Italy has marked the recent commercial trend in that country. During the four months ended with April, which have just been reported on, importations reached 5,816 million lire and exports 4,357 millions, leaving an excess of imports amounting to 1,458 millions. This compared with 2,382 millions in the same period last year. Of this movement of 924 million in the trade balance over that of the same four months in 1923 April alone contributed 331 million.

Financial reorganization in Poland and Portugal is evidence of the earnest effort to restore more stable conditions. Recently the United States Commercial Attaché at Warsaw reported that Poland had already made considerable progress in this direction since the first of the year. Polish mark exchange has been practically stable for the last two months, and considerable economy and reform have been accomplished. The Polish zloty will replace the mark on July 1 and will be replaced by coins on Jan. 1, 1925.

Austria continues to show the excellent effects of the scheme of rehabilitation organized by the League of Nations, and similar results are expected from the same methods in Hungary, where currency inflation has now been arrested.

In Sweden general economic conditions are excellent, and the resumption of gold payments by the Riksbank has caused increased confidence in financial circles. In connection with other steps in the stabilization of Swedish currency on a gold basis, a revolving credit of \$25,000,000 was provided for the Government in the United States late in May, following the sale here earlier in the month of \$10,000,000 of Swedish Treasury bills.

Stability exists in Finland, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia. The general outlook in the Netherlands is much more favorable. Business there

is fairly well maintained, while unemployment is decreasing, reflecting greater industrial and building activity. The unfavorable trade balance recently decreased, while with new taxes and with economies which are planned it is hoped to balance the Government budget in 1925. Russia reports a surplus in the budget for the current three months and expanding trade.

Latvia has adopted as its standard unit "the lat," equivalent to the French gold franc. Lithuania has adopted the decimal system in money; its new money unit is the "litas" or "lit," at one-tenth the dollar. Czechoslovakia has undertaken the coinage of gold ducats valued by weight in foreign trade transactions; Austria has introduced the "shilling."

The existing commercial agreement between the United States and Spain has been extended for a period of one year, or until May 5, 1925. American products will continue to be admitted into Spain under the same favorable rates of duty as they have previously enjoyed, with reciprocal privileges to Spanish products in the United States.

In other parts of the world also evidences of betterment are to be seen. The trade of India is now equal to that of pre-war days. Australia and New Zealand are prospering and economic conditions in the South American countries show signs of definite improvement.

In Argentina there has been little change in the general business situation during the last two months. The Government has continued the prosecution of its program of railway extension and of increased petroleum development. Railway traffic has been heavy and general building continues active. Domestic business tends to be dull for the Winter months and import business is cautious. The rise in dollar exchange may turn much business to Europe.

Brazilian exchange has remained fairly stable. Importers are extremely cautious in buying. The demand for automobiles has increased with a price reduction, especially in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. The market for agricultural implements also shows a marked increase in Rio de Janeiro and in Rio Grande do Sul.

While there are many readjustments remaining to be made, it is increasingly evident every month that the effects of the war are gradually disappearing throughout the world.

# Contemporary History and Biography

**MAN'S JUDGMENT OF DEATH.** By Lewis E. Lawes, Warden of Sing Sing Prison and former President of the American Prison Association. 146 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This contribution by Warden Lawes to the literature on capital punishment contains conclusions that are both new and valuable; basing his opinions on actual experience as a prison executive, he writes:

\* \* \* Our theory of capital punishment is both illogical and inconsistent. In this theory it is the severity upon which emphasis is laid. We stress the fact that no other punishment is severe enough to deter. But many punishments have been devised in the past that were more severe. To be strictly logical, therefore, those who advocate a punishment because of its severity should abolish capital punishment because it is grossly inadequate.

Disclaiming sentimentality and applying the test of statistical results, Warden Lawes decides the death penalty to be wholly unsatisfactory:

The death penalty rests upon wrong basic principles. It conforms to none of our ideas of modern criminology. It is impossible of scientific application. As a punishment it lacks celerity and certainty of execution. It fails as a deterrent measure.

**ALFRED E. SMITH: AN AMERICAN CAREER.** By Henry Moskowitz. 312 pp. New York: Thomas Seltzer. \$3.50.

In this biography of the Governor of the State of New York, Mr. Moskowitz has made an interesting contribution to American history. The rise of Alfred E. Smith is but another tribute to America as "the land of opportunity." The book was born of the obvious political inspiration, but its significance is mainly social, the figure that emerges is attractive, but the underlying story of triumph over lowly origin, over educational handicaps and unpromising environment, brings us something far more vital than the personality of an individual. Mr. Moskowitz has carefully avoided superlatives, a discretion which adds much to the value of his book.

**LETTRES A UN AMI: SOUVENIRS DE MA VIE POLITIQUE.** By Alexandre Ribot. 354 pp. Paris: Brossard.

M. Ribot writes frankly of epochal events; his rich career, which spans forty years and includes four terms as Premier of France, gives the touch of authority to the observations in these pages. Though his letters are a valuable addition to contemporary political literature, they are yet more interesting as war documents. Perhaps M. Ribot's greatest service was his tenure as Premier in 1917; of this grim period he writes candidly, ex-

ploding many historical fallacies and enlivening the record with pertinent observations. His intimate sketches of great personalities of the time are skillfully executed and illuminating.

**THE GENIUS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS.** By Julius H. Barnes. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.

Mr. Barnes sees deeper elements involved in national success than the physical fact of commercial supremacy; in this little volume of business philosophy the President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States outlines his ideals as follows:

An industrial ideal that the gifts of nature should be converted to human use as rapidly as possible, not by drudgery of bent backs, but by the mastery of mind over the forces of nature and the service of invention, thus enlarging the product of every pair of worker's hands.

A social ideal that would close no gate because of accident of birth or station, but would maintain the open road for character, ability and energy to attain recognized leadership.

A political ideal that national progress and accomplishment are the aggregate of individual effort, and that the prime function of government is to maintain fair play and equal opportunity for each individual to work out his own field and accomplishment in a fair field.

Mr. Barnes believes, however, that the attainment even of these lofty purposes would not mean completion; he adds:

If the ultimate goal of America's material progress is invested with the idealism which robs it of any sordid and selfish aspect; if it is attainable, largely, because the political philosophy incorporated in our Constitution is itself the guarantor of accomplishment, then there devolves upon all citizens a new and solemn responsibility. There must be preserved in America the conditions under which this splendid material progress has been created.

**THE POLITICAL CAREER OF LORD BYRON.** By Dora Neill Raymond. 363 pp. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$3.

A new Lord Byron emerges from these pages; Miss Raymond deals only with the political activities, at home and in Greece, of the English poet. She tells of his war exploits, analyzes their significance in relation to Byron's political philosophy and reveals a side of the poet which has been but little considered by his biographers.

**WAGE SLAVERY.** By J. K. Heydon. 215 pp. London: John Lane, the Bodley Head, Ltd. 5s.

Mr. Heydon asks for a more humane consideration of the questions at issue between capital and labor; repudiating the theory that labor is a commodity, he insists that this view is responsible for much of the present discontent.





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MONEY



BETTER  
PERSONALITY



ABILITY TO  
MAKE GOOD  
FRIENDS



CAPACITY  
TO STUDY



A BUSINESS  
OF YOUR OWN



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# CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLES

## "Assessing the Blame for the World War"

PROFESSOR HARRY ELMER BARNES of Smith College, whose article, "Assessing the Blame for the World War," in the May CURRENT HISTORY, has excited such widespread interest and discussion, writes in regard to the symposium published in the June issue of this magazine:

The general agreement of the majority of the contributors to the symposium on war origins with the revisionists' viewpoint makes it unnecessary for me to set down my comments in the shape of a formal article of reply or rebuttal. There are only a few matters of minor significance which call for brief remark.

In regard, first of all, to the letter of Professor Pinto, published elsewhere in the same issue, with respect to German knowledge of the contents of the Austrian ultimatum, he evidently failed to read my footnotes, where, all that he alleges is quite frankly conceded. It is quite possible that Tschirsky knew the general contents of the ultimatum to Serbia, but the exact terms were not communicated to Berlin until July 22. The important point in this matter is that we now know that Berlin did not dictate the terms of the ultimatum, which was what was alleged in the conventional theory of German responsibility, and specifically in the myth of the Potsdam conference. As a whole the issues in this controversy are not so very significant, since it is quite evident that Germany was not interested in restraining Austria until the Austro-Serbian episode seemed likely to provoke a general European war. It is also true, however, that France made no effort whatever to restrain Russia, even after it was evident that Russian aggression would produce a world war.

With Professor Seymour's sagacious and judicious discussion I find nothing to quarrel about and much to commend. I would qualify somewhat his view that the German statesmen were largely responsible for the European anarchy from 1870 to 1914. I think that for most of the time from 1870 to 1906 this was distinctly the case, but from 1906 to 1914 it seems to me that France and Russia became progressively more aggressive, and by 1912-14 had gone beyond Germany in this direction. But the discussion of this matter seems rather futile as one views the history of Europe since 1750. From 1750 to 1789 probably Prussia, Russia and England were more responsible than any other countries for military practices and traditions; from 1789 to 1800 Austria and England were the most aggressive countries; from 1800-1815 France set the standards of militarism; from 1815 to 1848 Austria again took the lead; from 1850 to 1870 France and Russia once more became the most feared military States, a position which France has again assumed since 1918. The European system, then, stands condemned rather than any single State, whether we examine European history from 1750 to 1924 or from June 28 to Aug. 4, 1914.

As to Professor Buell's contention that Germany should repair the damage done to Belgium, I would dissent in no way whatever. I would also agree that she should contribute liberally toward the repair of physical damage done to France, but that is a quite different matter from what is contemplated in the reparation clauses of the treaty.

With Professor Lingelbach's view that we shall be greatly aided by a frank revelation of the contents of the British and French archives I

am in entire agreement, but I doubt if the self-defense motive will prove very effective unless the case for these countries would be improved by the exposure of the secret documents, a dubious assumption which still remains to be proved correct. An acquaintance who has examined the unpublished Siebert documents for July and August, 1914, gives me information that would seem to indicate the opposite. The cause of the pacifistic group in Great Britain might, however, be aided, and we may hope that Ramsay MacDonald will take advantage of the opportunity, now that he has been able to cut loose from Poincaré's apron strings.

Professor Morse has not in any way raised issues of fact or discussed any of the specific evidence brought forward in my article, so that no reply is possible. In regard to German policy toward Delcassé he has forgotten, apparently, the attitude of the United States toward several Presidents of Latin American States whose policies have not pleased us. His allegation that I treated Germany too briefly proves no desire to extenuate her. I conceded at the outset all the claims for German militarism and international aggression that any sane person would demand. There was little reason to take up valuable space to prove what everybody knows and has had presented to them to a most excessive degree for the last decade. My only object in the section dealing with Germany was to refute such nonsense as the Potsdam conference, German responsibility for Austrian policies toward Serbia and the obligation of Germany to content herself with counter-mobilization against Russia. If I gave more space to France than to Germany it was due solely to the fact that American readers need more education on the matter of French militarism and aggression, a topic on which there has been great obscurity and "pussy-footing" in America. But an appropriate analysis of the policies of Poincaré, Delcassé, the Cambons and Tardieu does not whitewash Tirpitz, Ludendorff and Moltke.

Professor Becker's contribution calls for no comment, beyond my conviction that his broad philosophical discussion of the issues is probably more vital and fruitful than technical analysis of documents. It gives evidence of a mental attitude which is, unfortunately, distressingly rare among contemporary historians.

Nor do I find anything in Professor Wright's objective remarks with which I should desire to take issue.

It may seem ungracious for me to disclaim fitness to receive the flattering estimate of my historical scholarship bestowed by Professor Salmon. I regard the CURRENT HISTORY article as less of a criterion in this regard than almost any other serious contribution which I have published. The most illuminating fact about the whole matter is that the credit for giving publicity to the revisionist viewpoint went by default to a disinclined outsider rather than to some one of a half-dozen eminent authorities on contemporary European diplomacy who should have performed the task many months ago. Why they did not do it will remain an interesting problem with respect to the public obligations of the historical expert, and contemporary American standards of professional courtesy and departmental discretion among historians.

In Professor Blakeslee's constructive letter I would find fault only with the first two of the footnotes with which he closes his discussion. One would not gather that Gooch places Russian responsibility for the precipitation of the war ahead of that of either Austria or Germany (Modern Europe, p. 547). Further, the "new documents" referred to by Professor Fay are merely the German and Austrian publications, and not the Russian, upon which the case

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against France and Russia has been erected since Professor Fay wrote.

I wish that I might agree with Professor Anderson's benign, if original, contribution to historical methodology—namely, that historians should write primarily to offer cheer and consolation to the widows and orphans of past wars. Unfortunately, this procedure has characterized much historical writing in the past and has ultimately done much to cause subsequent wars and to create a new crop of widows and orphans to be comforted. It would seem desirable to sacrifice the feelings of one generation of widows and orphans in the interest of the truth, so that we may contribute to the protection of many subsequent generations from bereavement. Professor Anderson's attitude toward French foreign policy and militarism appears to have been based upon such material as "Lafayette, we are here!" sentiment, rather than upon a study of the Siebert documents and the *Livre Noir*. The prescription indicated in his case is the allopathic dose of Bauman, which is useful only in such extreme cases of Francophilism. Professor Anderson puts the seven following interrogations to me:

1. Was Austria, with the consent of Germany, warranted in sending to Serbia an ultimatum which was bound to produce war or inflict on Russia a humiliation which it could be expected to endure only if afraid to go to war?

2. Was Austria justified, two days later, in refusing to accept, even as the basis for negotiation, the surprisingly compliant answer of Serbia and in breaking off diplomatic relations?

3. Was Austria justified, after an interval of only three days and while the other great powers were trying in frantic haste to devise some means of preserving peace, in declaring war against Serbia?

4. Was Germany warranted in asserting that a war of that sort was an affair that concerned Austria and Serbia alone, and in refusing as she did, until it was too late, to lend any effective support to the efforts of Sir Edward Grey to bring about a mediation by the four less interested powers?

5. Did Germany during those critical days, when there was still a chance that peace might be preserved, exert as prompt and as strong pressure in favor of peace at Vienna as might reasonably be expected?

6. Was Russia justified in ordering a general mobilization on July 30?

7. Was Germany justified in immediately declaring war on Russia when Russia refused to stop this mobilization?

I would answer all these questions by a distinct negative if I could assume an atmosphere

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of frankness and candor in European diplomacy in 1914, but in the light of existing facts and methods at the time, the candid historian would probably feel bound to answer the last four in an affirmative fashion, and some would even insist upon answering all but numbers two and three in such a way.

In my footnote of acknowledgment in the May CURRENT HISTORY I had not intended to hold Professor Schmitt responsible for any of the weakness of my article, but rather to give him credit for much of whatever merit it possessed. With respect to his qualifications and reservations I need say little more than that they refer to matters on which there may be a legitimate difference of opinion after one has studied the documents. They were all raised in his letter to me before the publication of the article and given serious consideration by me at the time. His only serious error, it seems to me, is the assumption that Austrian aggression in the Serbian circumstances was produced by the German *carte blanche*. I believe that Austria was determined to humiliate Serbia at all costs, and would have done so irrespective of the Kaiser's attitude on July 5 and 6, 1914. If Germany had refused the *carte blanche* and deserted Austria there would probably have been no European war, but Professor Schmitt's own article is the best proof to date of the fact that Germany simply could not have deserted Austria at this time, given the contemporary alignments and governmental practices.

It appears to me preposterous that I should be called upon to disclaim pro-Germanism. Any one technically proficient in the circumstances knows that my article would be extremely distasteful to the German nationalist who still believes in complete German innocence and puts Great Britain first in responsibility for the war. Nobody could entertain more contempt for the German military group than myself, and my chief complaint is that the absurd conduct of the Allies since 1918 has resulted in the destruction of the democratic and pacifistic forces in Germany (which would have triumphed with the slightest amount of allied sanity) and has rehabilitated the Potsdam gang which helped to terrify Europe from 1900 to 1909. But for the Bolsheviks these same Allies would in all probability have reinstated the arch-Russian culprit, the Grand Duke Nicholas. The great lesson of the whole matter is that, in the words of Professor Knight, "we must liquidate our war illusions."

Dr. Charles Sarolea, distinguished Scottish educator and Professor of French Literature at Edinburgh University, though observing that "students of political history will be deeply indebted to Professor Barnes," declares himself in "almost complete disagreement" with the professor's conclusions. Dr. Sarolea writes:

First, I disagree with his methods of investigation. I do not believe, as he claims, that upon such material as he gives "we are able to construct a relatively objective and definite estimate of the causes of, and of the responsibility for, the great calamity of 1914-18 and its aftermath" (p. 174). I do not believe that the mere examination and textual criticism of diplomatic

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documents is sufficient to produce conviction. Nor do I believe that he has included all the facts or factors bearing on the case. Professor Barnes has indeed adduced hundreds of data, but he has had to leave out hundreds of others which, in my opinion, are at least as important as those which he has given. From such a vast conglomerate we are compelled to select. But on what principle are we to make our selection? And even if Professor Barnes could have given all the essential facts, the difficulty would still remain that in order to appraise their relative value those facts must be seen in their due perspective and in their political atmosphere; and that further, in order to understand their significance, we must take into account the imponderabilia of circumstance and place, the hidden motives of the chief actors and the complex mentality of the various nations concerned.

Second, I cannot agree with the political philosophy, or, rather, with the absence of any political philosophy, which is implied in the article. I trust that the political skepticism and pessimism of Professor Barnes does not represent the opinions of the majority of the American people. I am sure that it will be repudiated by the enormous majority in allied countries. Professor Barnes suggests that there is little to choose in international policy between the ways of democracy and the ways of autocracy. He suggests that all the British and French talk about the ideals of the war, about Prussian militarism, about the oppression of small nationalities, are so many catchwords and phrases. I submit that Professor Barnes is wrong. I feel convinced, more than ever, that whatever blunders may have been committed by the allied Governments—and, being human, they were bound to commit blunders—there was, nevertheless, a fundamental difference between the policy of the Allies and the policy of the Central Powers. I believe that the war was a conflict of political ideals. I believe that its catastrophic results were mainly the "Red Harvest" of the Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern. I believe that Austria-Hungary was a political corpse in an advanced state of decomposition. What Professor Barnes says about Alsace-Lorraine or Serbia—curiously enough he never once mentions the problem of Poland—does not touch the argument. Both Austria-Hungary and Germany had a very simple way of peacefully settling every one of those troublesome "national" questions to their own advantage. If they had adopted the very simple expedient of granting autonomy to the oppressed nationalities, if they had adopted the American solution of federal government, or if Austria-Hungary or Germany had had a democratic system like Great Britain, France and Italy, there would have been no Alsace-Lorraine problem, nor a Silesian problem, nor a Croatian problem, nor a Serbian problem, nor a Czech problem, and there certainly would have been no World War.

Third, I cannot agree with Professor Barnes in his facts and in his conclusions. He denies the existence of Pan-Germanism, which, in my opinion, was a sinister reality (see the three volumes of Professor Andler). On the other hand, he affirms the menace of Pan-Slavism, which can be proved to be an absurd fiction. He assesses the responsibility for the war in the following order: (1) Austria, (2) Russia, (3) France, (4) Germany, (5) England. For that alignment I would substitute another and a very different alignment: (1) Austria, (2) Germany,

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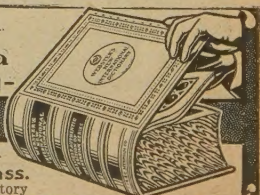
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(3) Russia, (4) France, (5) England. And if it were possible to follow the methods of a criminal Judge, who arithmetically assesses responsibilities and fixes penalties; if it were possible to measure with some degree of precision the guilt of the respective nations, I would put the responsibility of Austria-Hungary at 40, the responsibility of Germany at 30, the responsibility of Russia at 15, the responsibility of France at 10, the responsibility of England at 5.

**Professor H. L. Gray** of Bryn Mawr College agrees with Professor Barnes that heavy responsibility should be borne by Austria and Russia, which, he writes, "every one must admit," but he dissents from the view that France is more blameworthy than Germany. On the latter point he holds the contrary to be true:

It was the unwisdom of German statesmanship which, after antagonizing France in 1871, made possible her alliance with Russia in 1891. It was further unwisdom of the same sort which, between 1895 and 1901, rejected several British overtures for some form of an alliance and thereby left to Great Britain only the alternative of moving in the orbit of the same two powers. It was Germany who, about 1898, formulated two ambitious policies, either sufficient to tax all her diplomatic and other resources, one of them bound to provoke the hostility of Russia, the other the hostility of England. They were, respectively, the economic, military and political exploitation of the Turkish Empire and the creation of a fleet such that "a war with the mightiest naval power would involve risks threatening the supremacy of that power."

Again it was Germany who, in 1905, 1909 and 1911-12, so harassed one or other of the Entente Powers as to make them feel what seemed a determination to enforce her will by force of arms. Professor Barnes gives for 1909 the German Foreign Office explanation rather than the usual Russian official and popular view. Remembering in 1914 this humiliation, Sazonov declared that the experience of 1909 could not be repeated, while Izvolsky, revengeful, is said to have called the World War "ma petite guerre." After the Agadir crisis of 1911 had revealed how uncertain was the good will between England and Germany, it would have been a counsel of wisdom for the latter not to have roused further suspicion by the passage of a new naval bill and not to have rejected the proposals made by Lord Haldane. \* \* \* It was, moreover, in consequence of German action in 1911 that France began to manifest the temper and to make the military preparations which Professor Barnes so strongly sets to her discredit. If an alarmed person prepares to defend himself it is only fair to ask who caused the alarm. The principal responsibility for the war lies not so much with the actors of July, 1914, as with the statesmen who during forty-three years had followed dangerous policies, and the initiative in formulating such policies and the aggressiveness with which they were pursued came for the most part from Berlin. Poincaré and Sukhomlinov were men who took up a challenge.

Analyzing the diplomatic manoeuvres in July, 1914, Professor Gray finds that Germany was willing enough to undertake a war with Russia, "and, of course, with France," but was apprehensive as regards possible participation by Great Britain:

What finally convinced Germany that Great Britain would not remain neutral was Sir Edward Grey's grave warning which reached Berlin on Wednesday evening (July 29). Straightway was dispatched to Austria the stern note

quoted by Professor Barnes. Under the new conditions Germany definitely did not wish for war. Had she foreseen these eventualities and sent the sharp reproof two days earlier, Austria would probably soon have listened, Russia was still amenable to negotiation, the militarists in all countries would have been forestalled, and the war for the time avoided. Just here lies the weight of Germany's responsibility. She gambled first on the inaction of Russia, and then on that of Great Britain. While not averse to a conflict with Russia and France, she was averse to one in which these two powers might be joined by England. Hence she did not act in a way to discourage the former contingency, and through misjudgment did not act quickly enough to prevent the latter.

The existence of a mildly active war sentiment in France also had its bearing upon events, according to Professor Gray, who summarizes:

Without doubt, certain Frenchmen, especially in the army, were not averse to war, and undoubtedly Izvolsky did not neglect to report this to his Government. Yet Paléologue's memoirs, even if they show that he did not urge severe self-restraint upon Russia, also show that he did not urge provocative measures. He was startled when he learned that general mobilization was about to begin. Throughout the entire crisis France supported the compromises suggested by Sir Edward Grey. Until, therefore, it can be proved that, despite this, she influenced the Russian decision on the 31st, the case against her is not strong.

**John M. Baker**, instructor in journalism, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., writes:

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes in his article mentions a great many historical documents which have recently come to light and makes the following significant statement: "It is upon such material as this that we are able to construct a relatively objective and definite estimate of the causes of and responsibility for the great calamity of 1914-18 and its aftermath. It is quite evident that if any account written prior to 1919 possesses any validity whatever or any approximation to the true picture of events, this is due solely to superior guessing power or good luck on the part of the writer."

The article is scholarly and fair-minded. Professor Barnes has contributed considerably to an understanding of conditions before and at the time of the war by showing in very plain language what the content of these documents means in construing the motives of the Foreign Offices of the various nations involved. But the statement quoted raises the question whether one can pass judgment on the guilt or innocence of a nation from its historic documents in a manner similar to that in which a court can convict a man from a complete file of his personal correspondence.

What Professor Barnes has been able to do five years after the war toward assessing the blame for the war many thousands of young men had to do for themselves at the time of the war and with very fragmentary evidence to go on. And they did reach a verdict of which they were sufficiently sure to support at the cost of life and limb. Professor Barnes's conclusions are very different from those which we worked out as we sat day after day on the deck of our transport and gazed at the sea through which our convoy was making its slow, zigzag course to France. We believe he has a right to his view, but there are some of us at least who still feel we have a right to ours, too. Some of us realized that when it all was over there would be men, clear-eyed, well-meaning students of the generation that would follow, who would weigh the facts from the documentary evidences alone, and finding sinister motive in the statements of both sides, would come to some sort of conclusion that there was more



rotteness on both sides and more honorable intent on both sides than any one dreamed during the war, and give an open verdict.

The way some of us thought this out clings very vividly in my mind. We had only cable reports, often garbled, many times too long to bother to read; the speeches of politicians, often obviously colored by partisan ideas, and the material we had got at college regarding the personality of the Frenchman and the German in the language courses, where we studied each sympathetically, and regarding the past, which we had got in our history courses. Would it be possible for men torn by considerable emotion, and with only such material to guide them, to come to a better verdict than one could obtain with full particulars regarding the complete issue of diplomatic papers of all the nations as if they were living personalities, and in saying that Germany had less guilt than France, that we were fighting on the wrong side? Were we tricked? Were we deceived in it all? Is Professor Barnes free from the prejudices that shackled our thinking, or has he lost some of the perspective we then had?

Government meant to us something different from what it does to Professor Barnes. We did not think of the European nations as so many Ministries and the acts of the nations as the acts of the Ministries. We thought of the nations as if they were living personalities and we imagined them struggling along through time. The nations seemed to us to have a consciousness and a motivating force of their own. We thought of the nations as great monsters moving along in semi-consciousness and in a kind of lethargy, and that they would persist in the course they had been pursuing despite all the diplomatic interchange of the politicians and Ministers, until the ideas of the diplomats were understood and found a ready response from the people. For all the verbosity of diplomacy, the ideas which carry down through the millions of people and move them to action are very simple ideas and very easy to understand. Thus it seemed to us that, no matter how many volumes of documents were stored away in the archives of State, the only ones of those which moved to action and which were articulate to this great, drowsy monster, the nation, would needs be simple and brief.

The secret and obscure diplomatic utterances, no matter how much they may have meant to the statesmen who sent and received them, were not the utterances of the nation unless they were in key with the ideas already slumbering in the consciousness of the nation. Those expressions taken from such doctrines, which were simple enough and trite enough to stir the press and win applause from the politicians and linger in the popular poetry and fiction and song, simple as they were, obvious as they might be, were yet the real ideas in the consciousness of the nation which moved it to action and war. In considering who was right and who was wrong we could only take into consideration such ideas as the ideas of the nations, and these being very simple, it seemed a very simple thing to pass judgment. The very simple idea of Germany, as we saw it, was that if a nation is more civilized than the others, might makes right and law can be set aside. We believed that this was wrong, and that, accordingly, Germany was wrong. It seemed so very simple then. It seems so very complex now! Everything is less clear now than six years ago. Probably it will continue to become more and more confused for a generation until a poet and thinker can pass judgment on the fragments of all that will be left by that time of the research to which the scholars of today are faithfully devoting their lives. Possibly when he finds an epic simplicity with which to tell it, he may arrive at conclusions not so very different from those we reached six or seven years ago.

A different view is voiced by Professor George Gordon Andrews of State Teachers College, Kirksville, Mo., who denies that Germany

was largely responsible for the "savage system of militarism" which obtained just before the war; Prussia, he asserts, adopted universal military service in 1814 "to prevent a repetition of the national humiliation which she suffered from France under Napoleon"; he adds:

There is no material difference between the "levée en masse" of Revolutionary France and the Prussian system, and it is difficult to understand why Germany should carry a major share of responsibility for this system under such circumstances. J. Holland Rose says: "The responsibility for the introduction of the system lies with the French Republicans of 1793 and 1798." (Nationality in Modern History, 152.) If so, it is almost a case of "the fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge."

Aggressive nationalism on the part of the masses, rather than trickery by the leaders, was responsible for the war, according to Professor Andrews, who concludes:

The enlightenment of the masses is indeed highly desirable, but even more essential is an intelligent and unselfish leadership that is guided by broad social interests and has the courage of conviction. Without it, any form of international organization is doomed to failure: with it, international cooperation must inevitably follow.

Exception to the charge by Professor Barnes that Italy broke faith with the Triple Alliance when she fought by the side of France against her former allies is taken by Michael E. Strizzi, an Italian publicist, of Washington, D. C. Mr. Strizzi upholds Italy's right to conclude the 1902 treaty with France, contending that denial of this power would have made Italy "an ignominious vassal" of the Central Powers. Denying, also, that Italy's participation in the war on the side of the Allies was purchased by territorial cessions, Mr. Strizzi writes:

Italy, in her fifth and last war of independence, has sought to obtain, and finally obtained, only the reintegration of her natural boundaries, again taking what had been her property, and of which she had been despoiled when still too weak and oppressed to be able to offer any resistance. She did not need to sell or buy her intervention to or from her allies, old and new, because she used only what is a sacred right of any nation in the world, to unite her scattered limbs in one body and redeem the freedom of her enslaved sons.

Kilburn R. Brown of New York finds, in the Memoirs of the Crown Prince, many evidences of military preparedness in Germany prior to 1914. This book, Mr. Brown says, shows how much more important things military were to the royal family of Germany than they were to the royal family, for example, of England or Italy. In other words, the only training the Kaiser was anxious the Crown Prince should have was military training.

Opposing Professor Barnes's views, John C. Mahon of New York, N. Y., who has written several books on the war, says:

Despite the danger to this country involved in such articles, I find that American publishers give space to them in preference to carefully thought-out, non-sensational conclusions of inconspicuous writers having no aims other than to prevent published matter from misleading the country.